A PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF CHINESE CULTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS STABILITY

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CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Among the wide variety of definitions which scholars give to culture we may discern two major groups: one emphasizing the immaterial, or spiritual, aspects of culture, and the other the material and institutional aspects. The first group may well accept as its own Dr. Tylor's famous definition of culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[1] This definition has been elaborated in many ways by Godenweiser[2], Kroeber[3], Lowie[4], Wissler[5], and others. But that it can never be wholly adequate without any distinct reference to the material features of culture is at once apparent. We have to pay some attention to those material tangibles which the genius and capabilities of a given people have brought into being. It is in this vein that Dr. Ellwood emphasizes the fact that culture "is tool making and institution making."[6] He finds in culture the differential factor which distinguishes all human groups from all animal groups.

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1. E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, vol. p. 1.
2. A. A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilization
3. A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology.
4. R. H. Lowie, Culture and Ethnology.
5. C. Wissler, Man and Culture.
6. C. A. Ellwood, Cultural Evolution, p. 4.

Thus Tylor's concept of culture as spiritual and Ellwood's as material seem fundamentally opposed to each other. In reality, however, Tylor's conception forms the essential basis upon which Ellwood's structure must rest. When we speak of culture as 'social heritage'[7] we take into account primarily that body of experience upon which Tylor insists, but we cannot overlook the fact that its material embodiment has helped to make it transmissible, as well as intelligible in the first case.

Without attempting to create another category of definitions for culture, we may say that in general the culture of a race is the sum total of its achievements in adjusting itself to its environment. It comprehends the whole range of activities of the race, whether spiritual or material. Adaptation to environment exists in every form of plant and animal, since it is absolutely essential for the existence of the individual and the perpetuation of the species. It involves the combined action of variation, the struggle for existence, natural selection, and heredity. In the plant adaptation takes almost exclusively the form of structural modification, while in the animal it makes for both structural modification and the development of an inherited pattern of behavior. In man, by virtue of the complexity and flexibility of his neurological structure, it is capable of developing a

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7. Graham Wallace, Our Social Heritage.

highly varied set of reaction patterns. Man alone possesses the capacity for speech, the ability to make and use tools, and the general tendency to transmit past experience to succeeding generations. All this accumulation of experience which man thus acquires and transmits goes to make up what we call culture. Culture is thus uniquely a human achievement.

A careful analysis of the various aspects of the culture of any race reveals those innate qualities which constantly exert a moulding and selective influence on its experience and tradition. In turn a culture once acquired and established in the life of any race tends to act as a defining and shaping factor in the future career of that race. Through the study of this interaction between established culture and the achievement of new experience we can gain some knowledge of the mental structure of a race (both its innate and acquired characteristics) on the one hand, and of the origin and development of its social institutions on the other. We may observe the manner in which innate mental peculiarities have reflected in culture, and further the part played in the formation of culture by the interaction of mental, physical, and historical factors in the life of the race. We may note how the persistence of certain traits tends to determine the course of the people's whole cultural tendency, and also how cultural agencies make their contribution to the preservation of certain traits.

This much said, we are at once faced with certain

questions. Why, for example, does the culture of one race make progress while that of another stagnates? Why does one culture endure for a long time, while another soon passes away? Why are certain features strong in one culture, while they are weak or entirely lacking in another. What is the purpose or goal of the culture of a particular race? Why does not man become conscious of his culture and take hold of it and guide it in such a manner as to bring it to unity? Why does he not control it to the end that it may bring to individuals within the social group holding this particular culture the highest happiness? We have to face such questions as these when we attempt any thorough analysis of culture and conduct.

The analysis of culture may proceed from any of a number of angles, but in our present study we shall limit our investigation to matters of broadly psychological interest. We desire to ascertain what psychological factors have appeared most prominently in the culture of the Chinese people, and what effect the established and heavily traditional culture of the Chinese has had upon the Chinese mind. A thorough analysis of this problem is out of the question, when we consider the very long and extremely complex history of China; but if we can discover even some of the major tendencies and reactions, we shall have opened the door a little for further investigation of this difficult problem. It is our purpose

to guard ourselves rigidly against hasty generalizations which are not justified by the facts in our possession. At the outset it is necessary to inquire how this sort of investigation can best be made in the light of social analyses already made.

Gustave LeBon, in his study of social evolution, has showed how certain psychological characteristics of races find expression in their respective cultures.[8] In his study of the Egyptians, Romans, and Greeks, he brings out the following facts: the Egyptians were weak in painting and literature, but they were strong in architecture and the making of statues; the Romans possessed no original art, but they produced a brilliant literature and developed excellent military, political, and judiciary institutions; the Greeks showed superiority in different branches of culture, although modern archaeologists conclude that Greek sculpture and architecture during the Homeric period imitated the Egyptian and Assyrian. These different achievements, LeBon points out, are the outward manifestation of "l'âme d'un peuple." To ascribe cultural products to the manifestation of the soul of a people without further analysis does not seem to explain much. We are still in the dark as to just what are the differences of the native endowment of the Egyptians, Romans, and Greeks, and how these differences have been produced. We want to know what are the predominant impulses which, when working their way out into

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8. Lois psychologiques de l'evolution des peuples, pp. 68-71.

conduct in the midst of other factors, give their distinctive form to the customs, art, literature, and social institutions of the respective peoples.

LeBon is not alone in this matter of hasty generalization. An equally grave and serious defect appears in any of a number of other social psychologies which attempt to attribute every form of culture and human activity to one single cause or another, such as the herd instinct, the sexual impulse, etc. The trouble is that psychologists who produce such theories as these give undue importance to one single element to the neglect of other conditioning, and sometimes major, elements. They bring us no nearer to the central truth than LeBon's general and convenient phrase "L'âme d'un peuple." Hardly less misleading are theories of a somewhat different type which seek to explain all differences in culture in terms of stimuli and reactions or habits. These over-simplified and mechanical methods of explanation do not take into consideration the fundamental differences in human nature which cannot be reduced to a direct situation-and-response formula, unless the response makes due allowance for all sorts of variations in original nature.

Another approach to the psychological interpretation of culture is through a study of the beginnings of culture in primitive peoples. The reason for this method is not difficult to find. The culture and life of a primitive people are simpler than those of a people of more advanced cultural

attainments, and hence they can be more easily analyzed. As a matter of fact, much of the work of pioneers in the study of primitive culture has taken the turn of psychological interpretation. The studies of the English anthropologists, Tylor, Spencer, Marett, and Frazer, as well as those of Malinowski, show a marked inclination toward a psychological analysis of motives to explain the genesis of diverse orders of customs and institutions. They seem to hold quite uniformly that there is a fundamental unity of human mind everywhere. In like manner, the French anthropologists, Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl, and Mauss emphasize the essentially psychological origin of cultural phenomena. But the latter hold, in distinction from the English group, that the ideas and beliefs of the more advanced peoples are scientific or logical, whereas those of primitive man are mystical and pre-logical. Mr. F. C. Bartlett, in his Psychology and Primitive Culture, proposes to set a new issue. "What we chiefly want to understand," he says, "are the inter-relations of the responses at a given stage; which are dominant, and why they are dominant; what occurs when they conflict, and what when they unite. We need not, then, speak of primitive imagining, belief, thinking, and so on, as if these, considered as psychological responses, were any different in the primitive as contrasted with the modern mind. But what we must do is to study how imagining, thinking, believing, or

other typical responses, may vary in the position of dominance which they occupy at different stages of culture."[9]

Even so brief a glance as this reveals a fundamental divergence among the investigators as to what the determining psychological factors in the erection of the culture of any people are. Some evidently believe the natural equipment of all peoples to be about the same, no matter what their position in the scale of social evolution, while others think that with the gradual achievement of civilization man's fundamental nature changes, and with the change of nature his culture changes proportionately. Some lay much more stress upon the power of environment to shape culture, others hold that the culture any people is to attain depends, in the last analysis, upon some peculiarly determining quality in their racial genius. A third group holds that the basic differences in racial culture proceed from differentiations established in racial groups in prehistoric times, and that these differences have not been greatly changed except through becoming more pronounced, in the subsequent rise of the respective races in the cultural scale. In the midst of such a divergence of viewpoints among our principal investigators it is evident that psychology is under a heavy burden when it attempts to work out the dominant cultural factors at work in the life of any group, to say nothing of the intricate

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9. Psychology and Primitive Culture, pp. 22, 23.

interweaving of those factors to form this or that particular culture pattern.

In our present study we are not interested so much in those broad culture problems which can be traced in the general life of mankind as a whole as we are in the problems which lie about the erection of the particular culture complex of a single people, although the single people thus chosen may have, as it does in the case of the Chinese, an infinite variety of culture problems within itself.

Chinese culture, it may be said at the outset, is remarkable for its unity and stability. Deep currents of thought, feeling, and desire have united the Chinese people for more than forty centuries, and this persistence of psychological characteristics is all the more remarkable when we consider the enormous number of human beings included in the Chinese people, for roughly speaking a quarter of the whole human race, or certainly a fifth, is Chinese. While the foundation of Chinese culture is psychological its independent existence and homogeneity are the product of numerous factors so richly mixed that it would be the sheerest folly to try to account for the peculiarities of Chinese culture in terms of any one of them, or of any small group of them. This study aims at a psychological analysis of Chinese culture, but it cannot overlook many factors which are not immediately psychological in their bearing. We shall center our attention upon our psychological analysis, but we

shall have to give marginal attention to many factors which affect the total Chinese state of mind and mode of conduct, even though we cannot reduce them directly to psychological terms.

For example, China in its internal topography seems destined by nature to be the home of a united nation. Through its great river systems, together with the network of Grand Canals and numerous other waterways, the Chinese people have found constant opportunity for commerce and social intercourse. This facility of communication, together with the absence of any serious mountain barriers, made it inevitable that numerous interlocking provinces should form and become the basis of one political, racial, and economic structure; and this is just what did come about in the development of the Eighteen Provinces which constitute China proper.

Furthermore the healthful climate of China, according to S. Wells Williams, has had much to do with China's civilization and the type of its inhabitants. "No similar area in the world" he says, "exceeds it for general salubrity."[10] Later observations by Ellsworth Huntington, however, show that the climates of North America and Europe contribute to a speedier and higher form of civilization. Dr. McDougall states the effects of the climatic

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10. The Middle Kingdom, Vol. I, p. 57.

zone as follows: "High temperature combined with moisture certainly tends to depress the vital activity of Europeans and to render them indolent, indisposed to exertion of any kind. On the other hand high temperature combined with dryness of atmosphere seems to have the effect of rendering man but little disposed to continuous activity and yet capable of great effort; it tends to produce violent spasmodic activity. A cold climate seems to dispose toward sustained activity and, when combined with much moisture, to a certain slowness."[11] For example he mentions Malay as showing the effect of hot moist climates, Arabs as illustrating the effect of dry heat, and the English and Dutch for the qualities produced by a moist, cold climate. On the whole China lies almost entirely in the temperature zone, which with its steady flow of seasonal changes seem to be favourable to the development of a gentle and steady race. The climate of the north resembles somewhat those of North America and Northern Europe, but the dry, dusty, bitterly cold winds of the north, however, according to Huntington make it even inferior to those of Japan and southern China.[12] The climate of the south, though warm and moist in the summer, seems to be superior to that of Malay. Generally speaking the climate in China is more equable than that of Europe and America,

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11. The Group Mind, p. 249.

12. Huntington, E.: Human Habitat, pp. 177-179.

registering nowhere nearly so great range of seasonal changes nor so constant a whipping back and forth from one type of weather condition to another. Nevertheless there is enough change and stimulation to keep the Chinese from dropping into the indolent condition of the Malays. It seems that the climatic conditions of China constitute one of the factors in the stability of the Chinese race, and hence in the formation of the highly stable Chinese culture.

China's isolation in the extreme eastern quarter of Asia is most often mentioned as a cause for the stability of Chinese culture. This isolation by land, together with her very limited access to the sea, has largely deprived China in times past of much contact with peoples of other types of culture, types more advanced than those of her neighbouring tribes. However, this isolation has never been complete, for China has been subject to repeated invasions by alien peoples, being overrun at various times by the Huns, the Mongols, the Tartars, and the Manchus. The over-refined influence of Chinese culture on the one hand, and the subjection to alien rule which China has repeatedly and for long periods had to endure, have tended to repress the self-assertive impulses of the Chinese. On the other hand, cultural contact with the more advanced nations of the world has become possible only in recent times. To sum up, it is not contended that Chinese cultural unity and stability can be explained wholly in terms of geographic

and climatic influence alone; but we do believe that there is a close and constant connection between Chinese culture and the physical environment of the Chinese people nevertheless.

Another stabilizing agency in the establishment and maintenance of Chinese culture is the homogeneity of the Chinese people. The purity of the Chinese race (that is, its homogeneity) has been upheld by some anthropologists, although certain other investigators, whose work we shall notice later on, think they can discover a considerable mixture or racial types in evidence among the Chinese. Whatever we may conclude as to the constituent elements in the Chinese race, we have to note the peculiar ability of China to absorb related peoples who came in as invaders, but themselves subsequently yielded to the dominant influence of the existing Chinese culture. From a cultural standpoint the vast Chinese race is, on the whole, the most homogeneous in the world. In large measure this social homogeneity rests upon an unusually persistent biological homogeneity, not greatly affected by the infusion of foreign blood through the invasion of other peoples.

The numerical mass of the Chinese has been an obstacle in the way of change in its cultural type, it has made for a racial inertia unparalleled in the smaller and

more highly organized Japanese people or in the states of Europe. Moreover, such social structure as China has had has made for cultural conservatism rather than for advancement. The family has always been the self-sufficient, self-governing unit in Chinese society. This sort of organization is necessarily clannish in its wider operations, and the village, mastered by its clannish elements, is a stable institution of Chinese culture. The genius of Chinese society is that of the family and the clan, a self-sufficient and introversive social group. And the conservative heart of the Chinese clan is the highly consistent and self-sufficient Chinese family.

The political organization [14] based on the theocratic principle has been a strong stabilizing factor in Chinese culture. That the emperor was regarded as at once the supreme patriarch and the "Son of Heaven", with power commensurate with his responsibility, gave to the nation a common focus of interest. The Emperor, representing not only the State but also the harmony of the universe is in a sense an impersonal institution, religious as well as

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14. Meadows holds that the stability and the long life of the Chinese nation are due to three principles: (1) The nation must be governed by moral agency in preference to physical force. (2) The services of the wisest and ablest men in the nation secured by civil service examinations are indispensable to good government. (3) The people have a right to depose a sovereign who, either from active wickedness or vicious indolence, gives rise to oppressive and tyrannical rule. (Meadows, T. T.: The Chinese and their Rebellions, pp. 400-404.

political. He is the only person who by virtue of the celestial appointment is authorized to conduct the annual worship of Heaven, as the mediator between Heaven and the people. He is commissioned by Heaven with the responsibility for looking after the welfare, moral and physical, of his people. The people had no direct contact with Heaven and had to rely for any contact whatever upon the mediating office of the Emperor. Their function was merely to comply with State regulations and to act in accordance with the moral laws which were conceived to be eternal and immutable.

Agriculture has been another of the great integrating forces in Chinese culture. From the beginning China has been an agricultural nation, and never a loosely formed and shifting nomadic civilization. Its agrarian modes of life have always stabilized Chinese culture through the development of home and private property, capital, and resources. They have always nourished the parental and gregarious, as well as the constructive and acquisitive, impulses. They have established a clear division of the sexes, fixing the woman's status in family life and social organization. They have inevitably worked out in the direction of conservatism; and the constant reliance of the farmer upon the forces of nature has constantly tended to beget within him a spirit of resignation to a world which he could never wholly master and a fixed belief in inexorable fate. The great masses of Chinese have been peasant-minded, and peasant

economy and habits of mind and conduct naturally come to rest in a settled order of things.

All these factors are important as bearing upon the relation between the Chinese and its environment. They are not the only factors by any means, but they will serve to show something of the path which we mean to follow in the subsequent development of our thesis. Much has been written on Chinese culture, and the topics usually chosen for discussion have been family, house, city, street, dress, food, industries, and agriculture, with an occasional chapter on Chinese characteristics.[15] The observations made are usually not only superficial but indicative of wrong interpretations of facts. Such illustrations of Chinese life as are given are likely to be rare, if not indeed wholly exceptional. To make use of such exceptional events and cite them as habitual occurrences violently misrepresents the national character of the Chinese. Habits and customs practiced in one locality are used to support a particular interpretation of Chinese life as though the whole nation reacted in the same way. On the other hand some writers see only the bright and colorful side of Chinese life and confess themselves charmed by the excellent moral standards and the gentle temperament of the Chinese race, thus presenting a view too generous in its estimates of certain excellences

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15. See especially A. F. Legendre's Modern Chinese Civilization.

and too deficient in appreciation of certain shortcomings.[16] Against both these undesirable methods we must guard ourselves in this study. We desire to be satisfied with nothing less than the fundamental factors in Chinese culture, the factors which really account for the unity and stability of its structure.

We have to admit that the Chinese culture is conservative to the point of stagnation, or at any rate has been so until in very recent times new currents of interest and change have begun to set in. We desire to determine what principal agencies are responsible for this stagnation and whether it can in large measure be explained by the operation of environmental stimulation or must be attributed to something peculiar in the nature of the Chinese people, regardless of their environment. A brief statement of the method of approaching our problem is now in order.

First, we frankly admit the heavy debt which all human achievement owes to native endowment, to strong impulses coursing through the life of the individual which he has inherited from the race out of which he sprang. In some sense we can say at once that Chinese culture is the product of the peculiar nature of the Chinese race, although this statement does not at all tell how the nature of the Chinese

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16. H. A. Keyserling: The Travel Diary of a Philosopher, Vol. I, 1928; B. Russell: The Problem of China; and G. L. Dickinson: Letters from John Chinaman.

race became what it is. This direct appeal to Chinese nature as the secret of Chinese culture stands quite athwart the theory that China borrowed her culture in the beginning from other and earlier civilizations, such as Babylonian and Egyptian. This theory is usually supported by the attempt to trace the ethnic origin of the Chinese, but in our view as we shall attempt to show in Chapter II this attempt has utterly failed. It seems as impossible to trace the origin of the Chinese as to trace the origin of the human race. We think that the theory can further be overthrown by contrasting the salient characteristics of the Chinese with those of the other peoples named. A far simpler theory of the origin of Chinese culture is to be found in a psychological examination of the Chinese themselves, with special reference to their strong gregarious and parental traits.

Secondly, we may carry this psychological examination farther to see in what manner the distinctive Chinese temperament acts as a stabilizing factor in Chinese culture. The Chinese racial temperament places it in an intermediate position between the introvert and the extrovert. Such a moderate temperament naturally leads a people to accept such a doctrine of the Mean as was preached by Confucius. Confucius, more than any other creative spirit in Chinese history, may be credited with the primary formulation of Chinese culture in its broader aspects; but Confucius could never have

done what he did if the Chinese temperament had been different from what it was. Perhaps it is safe to say that out of no other race than such a one as the Chinese was could Confucius himself have arisen.

Thirdly, in order to ascertain how the process of stabilizing and preserving the existing cultural order goes on we seek in Chinese symbols some clue to that nucleus around which Chinese sentiment forms. Folklore, myths, and symbols in the Chinese culture play a heavy role, but they have never been systematically studied to determine their relation to the psychic life of the people. Some investigators pass them by as mere superstitions with no real significance in the social psychology of the Chinese. But we believe that they hold an important clue to those modes of thought and feeling which enter into Chinese custom and belief in a most determinative manner.

Fourthly, as we study Chinese culture in its totality we are struck with its strongly humanistic tone. The Chinese have taken little interest in the metaphysical and theological aspects of culture so much as in human needs and relationships. They emphasize that the study of classics is the best means for a well rounded and broad education. In this respect Chinese culture has much in common with humanism in any land and among any people. But like all humanism this type of culture among the Chinese is greatly circumscribed. There is little or no transcendent element in

it, and hence little of the speculative philosophic tendency. The whole range of Chinese interest has always been largely absorbed in the problem of human relationships, and there has been little curiosity with regard to any other kind of truth or adventure in human activity. Even the world of nature has been of interest only as it formed a frame for the all-absorbing human problem, and it has failed to arouse in the Chinese mind that investigative curiosity which is the key to western science. All this may be changed eventually, as China comes more and more in touch with the spirit of western learning, but so far this non-progressive and rigidly shut-in concern with the practical interests of human life has kept the Chinese from expanding in other directions in which a progressive race likes to make mental adventure.

Fifthly, this practical social development of the Chinese has always invited the development of highly wrought systems of morality, and this type of development is really the key to Chinese culture. The Chinese have always been far more concerned with problems of morality than with problems of scientific and industrial achievement. Thus they present the curious spectacle of a people highly advanced in their moral standards, and especially such moral standards as could be arrived at deductively from basic principles laid down by their philosophers, but greatly retarded in those arts which make for ease of living and ex-

cellence of material achievement. It is in the latter regard that the new generation of Chinese who have come in contact with the arts and sciences of the western world feel their people most deficient, and it is along this line that the new social revolution in China is even now beginning to make itself felt.

CHAPTER II

ETHNIC ORIGINS AND INNATE QUALITIES

"Men hear gladly," says Emerson, "of the power of blood or race. Everybody likes to know his advantage can not be attributed to air, soil, sea, or local wealth, as mines and quarries, nor to laws and traditions, nor to fortune, but to superior brain, as it makes the praise more personal."[1] But to what extent race and civilization are related is a matter upon which modern anthropologists are unable to agree. One group of writers would give race a leading role in moulding human destiny, for "race implies heredity and heredity implies all the moral, social and intellectual characteristics and traits which are the springs of politics and government."[2] And yet another group would deny that there is such a thing as racial culture, for "the culture of any given people is primarily dependent upon their mode of life, which is in itself largely an expression of geographic conditions."[3]

It seems probable, however, that no one factor alone, whether biological, geographical, social or psycho-

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1. British Traits and Representative Men, p. 38.

2. Professor Osborn's preface to Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race.

3. A. C. Haddon's The Races of Man, p. 2.

logical, can be used to explain the building of a culture. And if culture is simply the sum-total of the activities of a race in adjusting itself to its environment, we can not ignore the question of race. It is true that we characterize race by the common physical attributes of its members, such as the size and configuration of the head or color, but there is also a distinctive mode of behaviour which distinguishes it from other races. The mental characteristics which are common to the members of a given people mark the course of their culture, which, in turn, moulds and modifies their mode of life.

As in the case of every other ancient race the origins of the Chinese are shrouded in the profoundest mystery and obscurity. "Few countries possess such ancient, authentic and continuous records," says Emile Hovelaque, "yet they throw no light on the origins of the race, and do not go back further than four thousand years."[4] Since the seventeenth century this question has been a matter of controversy among Western scholars. While one school, accepting the views of Chinese historians, regard their racial and cultural origins as indigenous, independent of any foreign influence in the course of their development, another has advanced the theory that the Chinese, entering their country as a superior race brought with them a high

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4. E. Hovelaque, La Chine, p. 97.

civilization and extirpated, absorbed, or drove back the ruder aborigines. The scholars of the latter school, however, fail to agree regarding the invading race which according to this hypothesis formed the nucleus of the Chinese nation. The conclusions arrived at by most are to a great extent mere guesswork and romantic fancy.

It was a German Jesuit scholar, Athanas Kircher who first put forth the theory of the Egyptian origin of the Chinese in his work, Oedipus AEgypticus in 1654, and elaborated it in his later work, China Illustrata in 1667. He pointed out the similarity between Chinese characters and Egyptian hieroglyphics, and suggested that certain Egyptian colonies might have been founded in China, which introduced some essential elements of the ancient Egyptian civilization. This fascinating theory soon made its way to France and stirred the enthusiasm of French savants. Huet argued in his Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation chez les Anciens that both Indians and Chinese were the descendants of the Egyptians.[5] In 1758 M. de Guignes even

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5. Huet says, "Entre tous ces essaims d'Egyptiens qui inondèrent les Indes, les Chinois méritent bien d'être considérés en leur particulier. One trouve chez eux des marques bien sensibles de leur origine, une grande conformité de coutumes avec celles des Égyptiens, leurs doubles lettres, hiéroglyphiques et profanes, quelque affinité même de leurs langues, la doctrine de la métempsychose, le culte de la vache et, ce qui me paraît fort remarquable, cet aversion constante que font paraître les Chinois à recevoir les négociants etrangers dans leur pays, et qui les possédés dans tous les temps, pareille à celle que Strabon attribute aux anciens Égyptiens." p. 43, quoted by Henri Cordier in his Histoire generale de la Chine depuis les temp les plus anciens jusqu'a à la chute de la dynastie Mandchoue, pp.15-16.

went so far as to advocate that the rulers of the first two Chinese dynasties did not reign in China but in Egypt.[6] To Voltaire, however, such a hypothesis is absurd; he remarked, "It has always been suspected that great people are autochthonous, that is, they originated from the place where they live as do the quadrupeds, monkeys, birds, reptiles, fishes, plants and trees. It seems to us, for example, that the Chinese do not descend from an Egyptian colony any more than from Lower-Brittany."[7] And again, "It does not seem to us that the Chinese came from Egypt any more than from Romorantin."[8] Scholars like Schlegel, De Paw, Pailly, Julien, Pauthier, and others, all took part in this Sino-Egyptian controversy.[8]

Meanwhile, Mr. Needham, of the Royal Society of London, found under the bust of Isis at Turin some Egyptian characters which he said resembled those of the Chinese. He took the prints to Rome and elucidated his curious discovery with the aid of a Chinese dictionary published by the emperor K'ang-hsi. He sent his work to the missionaries at Peking for verification, and Father Cibot was entrusted with this task. In his famous Memoire sur les Chinois, Father Cibot hesitated to endorse this discovery.[9]

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6. Memoire read before l'Academie des Inscriptions, Nov. 14, 1758, p. 36.
7. Oevres Complètes. Mélange historiques, Vol.I, art.IV.
8. Lettres chinoises a M. de Paw, par un bénédictin, letter VII.
9. Memoires, Vol. I. p. 278.

Sometime later, some Chinese bottles were found by Sir J. G. Wilkinson and others in the tombs of Thebes, and this created great curiosity and surprise.[10] But it was soon found that they were of a comparatively recent period and devoid of any archaeological value. It has also been claimed that sculptures discovered in the vicinity of Shangtung province bear the indisputable testimony of the influence of Egyptian art,[11] but this evidence does not satisfy the most competent scholars among Chinese.

If the theory of diffusion as proposed by Professors Elliot Smith and Perry could be established it might lend some support to this hypothesis of Egyptian relations with the Chinese. The theory is, briefly, that mummification is a trait invented once and once only in Egypt, and that with a series of other traits, such as megolithic construction and the making of stone idols, they form a trait complex called by Smith the "Heliolithic culture." This culture was diffused by emigrants and adventurers from Egypt, sometimes after the tenth century B. C. to all parts of the world.[12] Traces of sun-worship among the early Chinese can be found. As regards mego-

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10 The customs and manners of the ancient Egyptians, pp. 68-70.

11. R. K. Douglas' Ancient Sculptures in China and Nine Plates. J.R.A.S. 1886, Vol. XVIII.

12. See Elliot Smith's The Migration of Culture and Perry's The Children of the Sun.

lithic construction, Professor Dixon points out that "the evidences in India and Japan seem to oppose this theory, and that the chances of Egyptian influence being in any way responsible for them become, for Japan at least, almost impossible. For in China the development of the stone dolmen covered by its tunnel out of a wooden prototype, can be clearly traced, and, what is more to the point, dated."[13] The making of stone idols is mentioned in ancient Chinese history, but the most important Egyptian trait, mummification, leaves no trace at all among the Chinese.

The similarities between the Chinese and Egyptians in their way of thinking, their religions, their ethics, and their customs have led M. Jean Rodes to believe definitely in the common origin of great civilizations, and that if Chinese seem so different from other people it is because, through their rigid morality and cultural continuity, they have preserved the older form of mentality like the Egyptians. So he concludes that "la Chine est une vièlle Egypt qui a persisté et qui se trouve beaucoup plus loin de nous dans les temps que dans l'espace."[14]

The similarity of two civilizations, however, does not necessarily imply a common origin or even the one being the direct descendant of the other. As Mr. Bartlett

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13. The Building of Culture, p. 248.

14. Les Chinois, Essai de Psychologie ethnographique, p. 58.

points out, "striking similarities in important elements of culture are an argument rather for independent origin than for transmission of such elements from one group to another."[15] Moreover, the difference between the two, cultural as well as psychological, is also great, and this we shall discuss later.

Let us now turn to the other theory, which seems to be more plausible than the one just described, that is, the theory of the Babylonian origin of the Chinese and their culture. Terrien de Lacouperie, one of the strong champions of this theory, said that the Chinese civilization had a common origin with those of Western Asia.[16] According to him, the Chinese civilization began comparatively late, being the outcome of an importation, not a distant growth from common seeds, but simply a loan, a derivation, and extension eastward from a much older form of culture in the West.[17] He even knows whence and by whom the first torch of civilization was brought into China. He thinks they were the Akkado-Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia; and Nakunte, the first leader of the Bak tribes who reached China, led his people into Chinese Turkistan, and then along the Kashgar or Tarym river, reaching after a time eastward

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15. Social Constructiveness in the British Journal of Psychology, Vol. XVIII, p. 390.

16. Western Origin of the early Chinese Civilization, p. 60.

17. Ibid.

to the Kuenlum, or the "Flowery Land." Nakunte became Na Hung Ti, or the Yellow Emperor in China, and Bak became Bak Sing, or "Hundred families" which formed the nucleus of the Chinese nation.[18]

Not only analogies and resemblances, but what are called identities are pointed out between the two languages, especially their astronomical and chronological systems, sufficient to establish his theory of the Akkadian-Chinese. De Harlez considers Lacouperie's work a great contribution to the knowledge of the early Chinese civilization, and says, "No one can be mistaken by the nature of this discovery, or would draw conclusions that it does not maintain."[19] The code of Hamurabi discovered in 1902 by M. de Morgan shows numerous likenesses with the laws and customs of the Chinese, and from this Farjenal concludes that the separation of the two civilizations must have taken place earlier than Terrien de Lacouperie

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18. To him the two Chinese characters Bak Sing, which mean hundred families, are a proper name. These people migrated in the darkness of antiquity, leaving traces of their passage all along their way to the East in the names of towns and countries, Bag-dad, Bag-istan, where the trilingual inscription of Darius, the son of Hystaspes was found, Bak-thyrai, Bak-tros, Bak-triana. The Bak would be the same as the Sag-gigya or black-headed men, of whom Chaldean annals speak, and whose name is met with again in China: the Chinese called themselves Li min, the black-haired race.

19. Les 15 Premiers Siecles de l'histoire des chinois, p. 1-2.

supposed.[20]

Professor Hirth in his Ancient History of China disputes Lacouperie's interpretation of the words Bak and Nah-hung-ti, and finally rejects the whole hypothesis of the Chaldean origin of the Chinese civilization.[21] Both Professor Giles and Dr. Ross apparently support the view of Hirth, and dismiss the theories of the foreign origin of Chinese culture as untenable.[22] Mr. Williams, however, criticizes Hirth's ignorance of the discovery of Professor Ball of Oxford, who published his work, Chinese and Sumerians in 1913 in which he gives a list of 108 ideograms in Sumerian with which he identifies certain old Chinese characters. He publishes also a vocabulary of more than a thousand words from the Sumerian which he shows to be substantially identical in sound and meaning with their Chinese equivalants. But the whole question is still open; "whether there is any direct connection between the pictographs of the Sumerians and those of the Chinese", as Professor Soothill remarks, "awaits the investigation of a competent Sino-Assyriologist, who perhaps may yet be a thoroughly trained Chinese."[23]

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20. Les peuples chinois, pp. 387-388.

21. pp. 14-18.

22. J. Ross, The Origin of the Chinese and also Giles' preface.

23. China and the West, p. 2.

Besides these two hypotheses mentioned above, an appalling mass of literature has grown up around this theme; its adherents are usually moved by a romantic desire to prove all sorts of fascinating cultural relationships for Chinese civilization. For instance, M. Leon de Rasmy proposed a theory of double migration of the people of China, the one in the north from Parmir, and the other in the south from the Arabian sea.[24] In order to support his theory of the importance of the Aryan race in the world civilization, Gobineau claimed that an Aryan colony migrating from India formed the source of the early Chinese civilization.[25] From the knowledge of the primitive Chinese art, Fenollosa concludes that the affiliations of the race are to the East, in the Pacific, and not in Asia; the first elements of Chinese civilization came from the coasts, not from the interior, for in the earliest bronzes, and Chinese ornamental designs can be recognized motives identical with those found in Polynesia, Mexico, and the two Americas. But, "a few interlaced designs, a few conventionalized marks," says Hovelaque, "are not enough. These ornamental motives are the marks of a certain stage of development rather than a type of civilization. They may be found,

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24. See Dr. Verrier's De l'origine des Chinois et des Indo-Chinois (Bulletin de la société d'ethnographie, 25, Nov., 1898).

25. Essai sur l'inequété des races humaines, Vol. II. p. 222.

almost the same, in Polynesia and in Ireland, in New and in old Guinea, in Scandinavia and in Alaska. Nevertheless, I do not think that either the Irish are descended---even spiritually---from the Papuans or the Negroes, or the Norwegians from the Polynesians or Red Indians."[26]

Whether the Chinese have been in their present home from time immemorial or whether they arrived there from abroad can not be proved satisfactorily, for the present at least, from a scientific point of view. No conclusive statement can be made on the origin of a people while the data are still so incomplete. Archaeologists have yet to explore the vast territory embraced by the Chinese nation before we can have any accurate knowledge of the racial origin of the Chinese.

Though we can not trace their racial origins back to Egypt, Babylonia, India, or Central America, cultural affinities with other people need not be denied. For they possess much in common in religious, social, and scientific ideas not only with the Egyptians and Babylonians but also with the Greeks, Romans and Hebrews.[27]

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26. Op.cit.,p. 98.

27. See Hager's Le Pantheon Chinois, ou Parallele entre le culte religeux des Grecs et celui des Chinois; Iijima's Greek influence on the ancient civilization of China and the compilation of Confucian classics, in Toyoakuko XI, pp. 1-88; 183-242; 354-404. and also N.B. Dennys' The Folklore of China and its affinities with that of Aryan and Semetic races.

This may be due to the uniformity of fundamental psychological mechanisms, which led men in different parts of the world to arrive at similar conditions. Anthropologists have often found a close analogy of cultural traits not only among similar tribes, but among a great diversity of peoples. In his book, The Mind of ~~the~~ Primitive Man, Boas says, "Observation has shown, however, that not only emotions, intellect, and will-power of man are alike everywhere, but that much more detailed similarities in thought and action occur among the diverse peoples. These similarities are apparently so detailed and far reaching, that Bactian was led to speak of the appalling monotony of the fundamental ideas of mankind all over the globe."[28]

On the other hand, "culture has hands and feet"; it travels more extensively than was formerly supposed. A tribe may assimilate foreign elements into its own cultural pattern without having a direct contact with them, while people may live closely together without being influenced by the one or the other. Thus, in various parts of Melanesia we find pottery made in certain villages, whereas, in neighbouring ones its manufacture is wholly absent.[29] Whether there was once a caravan route in the northwest of China or a jade trade which served as a means

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28. pp. 155-156.

29. R. B. Dixon's The Building of Culture, p. 111.

of contact between the East and West of Asia, we do not know. But notwithstanding its geographical distance, which always required time to travel, China, perhaps, consciously or unconsciously, received as much from others as she gave to those people around her or even beyond. Laufer shows in his books, The Diamond, a study of Chinese and Hellenic folklore that the Chinese knew of the western country of "Fu-ling", that is, Syria and Byzantine empire. Besides, one may be struck to find similar teachings and even similar analogies in the works of Greek philosophers, such as Socrates and Plato, and those of Confucius, who flourished a century before them. Giles thinks that there are certain reasons for concluding that Greece must have had early relations with China, namely: the notable similarity in their houses, their domestic customs, their marriage ceremonies, the public story tellers, the puppet shows which Herodotus says were introduced from Egypt, the street jugglers, the games of dice, the game of finger guessing, the water clock, the musical system, the use of the myriad (ten thousand), the calendars, and in many other ways. The peach and apricot, Chinese trees, were transmitted into Rome and Greece about the first century A. D., and they reached Iran in the second or first century B. C.[30] India was then brought into close trade

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30. See Laufer's Irana-Sinica: Chineses contribution to the early Iranian civilization.

relationship with the Roman Empire largely through the activities of a Chinese general named Pan Chao. From the first century onward China, through the channels of war, commerce and diplomacy, has tried her best to gain a knowledge of the Western World, perhaps, just as eager as the West has been in trying to know about the East. But the subsequent barrier created by the Arabs, who tried to monopolize the silk trade, made it impossible for China to come into direct contact with the Western World.

The progress of the early Chinese culture is perhaps partly due to influences of continual contacts with the neighbouring tribes. Often China drew her power from beyond her, grew strong by the infusion of barbarian blood, as Brooks Adams said of Rome that "all the evidence points to the conclusion that the infusion of vitality which Rome ever drew from territories beyond her borders was the source both of her strength and of her longevity."

But this does not mean that we justify the hypotheses of common origin, of borrowing en masse, or of an offshoot from an earlier culture. On the contrary, I think, it is fair to say that Chinese culture is an original development, but not unaffected by the influence of the outside world. Thus we find in it elements which may be indigensou, some which may be imported, while others may have arisen from a variety of sources. It might be,

as Laufer thinks, the final result of the cultural efforts of a vast conglomeration of the most varied tribes, an amalgamation of ideas accumulated from manifold quarters and widely differentiated in space and time. But all these elements, we must remember, fitted themselves into the cultural pattern of the Chinese and form a unit as a consequence of what Mr. Bartlett calls, "social constructiveness."[31] They must have undergone ~~through~~ the processes "of assimilation, omissions, and retention of odd elements," and followed "a general trend of development."[32] Isolated culture can only grow to a certain extent, after which it disappears. The wider the source the more advanced and progressive the culture will be, but the direction they take toward integration or forming a new harmonic whole will be determined by the activities and interests of the existing group. For instance, the Western civilization, which may soon become the world civilization, is not only the inheritance of Greece and Rome, or the work of one or two races, but the gradual result of all human achievements, following a definite line of growth and development. Mr. Lowie says:[33]

"Our immediate indebtedness to Rome and Greece

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31. Op. cit. pp. 388-391.

32. Ibid.

33. R. H. Lowie, Culture and Ethnology, pp. 32-33.

has been drilled into us with such fulsomely exagerated emphasis in our school days that the less said about it the better for a fair estimate of general cultural history. That the Greeks are merely the continuators and inheritors of an early Oriental culture, must be considered an established fact. Our economical life, based as it is on the agricultural employment of certain cereals with the aid of certain domesticated animals, is derived from Asia; so is the technologically invaluable wheel. The domestication of the horse certainly originated in inner Asia; modern astronomy rests upon that of Babylonians, Hindus, and Egyptians; the invention of glass is an Egyptian contribution; spectacles came from India; paper, to mention only one other significant element of our civilization, was borrowed from China."

Even a cursory survey of history will convince one that contact is an essential element for cultural progress, but mere contact is not enough. There must be stimulus strong enough to initiate reactions, which may result in clash of ideas and ideals and habits. Then an effort toward adjustment follows and civilization makes progress. This law of conflict and coordination seems to apply to all world civilizations, even the earliest one in human history, such as the Egyptian, for there are ample traces of a great mingling of population in ancient Egypt. This is true with the Babylonian, so it is with

the early Chinese. The aboriginal tribes, with whom the Chinese came in contact and in conflict, were by no means destitute of culture. We learn from The Book of History that certain tribes, like Le and Kwei, possessed such a good knowledge of music and astronomy as obliged the early Chinese rulers to enlist their service for the court. Intellectually, they were not very much inferior---and this gave the essential condition of progress---clash of people and cultures.

Another essential condition for the progress of the early Chinese civilization similar to that of Egypt and Babylonia is the environment---the rich valley of Huang-ho, like those along the Nile or Tigris and Euphrates. Hence, Egypt, Babylonia, and China must have made responses to (1) a similar social stimulus, that is, the mingling of tribes and ideas; (2) a similar material environment; and (3) a similar cultural force. But it is not necessary to hold that they all made similar responses and produced the same cultural results. Despite numerous resemblances among them, their psychological differences as magnifested in their own culture are so marked that we are able to distinguish them according to psychological types.

We propose here to consider what tendencies have been predominant in these three racial groups, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Chinese, what cultural results they produced as a consequence of their relation with

the temperamental factor, and how the culture they developed tends to influence the behaviour of the individual. In social organization Mr. Bartlett recognizes three relationships: Primitive comradeship, assertiveness, and submissiveness.[34] We shall adopt these terms, assertive, submissive, and fraternal to apply to the temperamental types of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Chinese respectively.

The reactions of Egyptians are somewhat melancholic, and hence we classify them as submissive. To them the term introvert may, perhaps, be applied. They took themselves very seriously, showing a marked degree of egocentricity and lack of humour. Their paintings, their literature, their religion, and their wonderful architecture seem to show that "they were a grave and dignified race, full of serious and sober thought, given to speculation and reflection, occupied rather with the interests belonging to another world than with those that attach to this present scene of existence, and inclined to indulge in a gentle and dreamy melancholy. The first thought of a king, when he began his reign, was to begin his tomb. The desire of the grandee was similar. It is a trite tale how at feasts a slave carried around to all the guests the presentation of a mummied corpse, and showed it to each

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34. Psychology and Primitive Culture, p. 37.

in turn, with the solemn words: 'Look at this, and so eat and drink; for be sure that such as this shall thou be.' The favourite song of the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, was a dirge."[35]

At the early stage of social development, fear plays an important role, be it among Egyptians, Babylonians, or ancient Chinese. Natural forces, enemies, and death constantly tend to evoke the emotion of fear in primitive man. Like introverts, the Egyptians, in their awful contemplation of how to avoid all these, naturally went deeper into things than either Babylonians or Chinese. Their temperament together with the conditions of the environment they were living in made them seek for the future as an escape from the terror of life. The Book of Death, the myth of Osiris and Isis, the practice of mummification and the building of pyramids are varied forms of avoidance reactions. Thus with them religion became all important. "The Egyptians," said Herodotus, "are the most religious of all men." Instinctive and temperamental factors are not alone responsible for their outlook on life, their cast of thought and lines of action; their timid and gentle disposition also tend to make them take more interest in religion than in war. It is true that their kings often went on expeditions against the negroes of Ethiopia or

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35. G. Rawlinson: Ancient Egyptians, pp. 25-26.

against the tribes of Syria, but they never made great conquests. Nearly all their paintings represent men in prayer before a God; only a few on the wall of their palaces deal with ~~the~~ fighting scenes.

The Egyptian has been, and still is, gentle, timid and ever ready to submit to tyranny. The massive pyramids which have become a symbol for Egyptian civilization are the enduring monuments of their submissive nature on the one hand and constructive power on the other. Perhaps the tendency to submissiveness made it possible for them to toil willingly and patiently in those superhuman tasks imposed on them by the Pharaohs, and yet it may be the outcome of their instinctive tendency to constructiveness; they might have built pyramids and temples or something else even had there been no Pharaohs to compel them. "Certainly the Egyptians," says Professor Thorndike, "were long unable to stop building pyramids. If it took them only one hundred and fifty years to arrive at the point where they could build the biggest and best ones, it took them a thousand years to cease building pyramids. The term, pyramid age, is often applied to the five centuries from 3000 to 2500, but after a period of confusion and the end of the old kingdom we find the Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom and Twelfth Dynasty again building pyramids."[36] We,

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36. Lynn Thorndike, A Short History of Civilization, p. 42.

however, must not view the construction of pyramids as a simple desire to make something. Such tendency was called forth to express itself in consequence of social and religious needs. When this tendency is developed to social form, it may become the basis of all social organization.[37] Moreover the operation of this tendency with other factors may give rise to various kinds of human activities, from block piling, myth making, group forming to city building and the highest form of human construction. No people destitute of this instinct can ever attain to a high state of culture. That with the Egyptians this tendency is especially strong is perhaps the reason why their civilization developed so early and to such a high degree.

On the other hand, the effects of the pyramid culture on the Egyptian life are very significant; it produced inertia and conservatism. The archaeological works "tend to confirm them in the settled mode of life, and strengthen the social bonds,"[38] so they abhorred change and loathed to move about. Foreigners came more to Egypt than Egyptians went abroad. Thus they built not only pyramids, but invisible walls around themselves. This isolation is one of the causes of subsequent deterioration of

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37. F. C. Bartlett, Psychology and Primitive Culture, pp. 43-44.

38. W. McDougall, An Introduction to Social Psychology, p. 331.

Egyptian culture.

The reactions of the Babylonians seem to be quite different from those of Egyptians. They were more assertive, possessing something like an extroverted type of mind. Their interest was chiefly centered in things outside themselves. Religious sentiment with them was never so strong as with the Egyptians. They did not trouble themselves about life after death, which they only regarded as a dim unknown region. Hence, instead of looking down to a lower world like the Egyptians, they looked up to the heaven and things around them. While wandering in the lonely desert, and experiencing the same emotion of fear, they were attracted by the movement of stars, which they imagined to be possessed of some weighty sense shaping or ruling the destinies of men. They showed the same motive to avoid danger but made quite a different kind of reaction, for what concerned them most were earthly ills and individual calamity. The instinct of construction was not lacking. Just as religious Egyptians built temples and pyramids, so did the practical Babylonians build palaces and zigguratu, or house of observation, "from which to watch the movements of heavenly bodies." Babylonians were known as "Founders of modern astronomy", just as the Egyptians were the "most religious of all men." The tendency to constructiveness was, however, not carried so far as among the Egyptians; the shapeless mounds that rose above

the monotonous desolation of Mesopotamia were not in the least like the beautiful ruins of old Egypt. It might be due to lack of materials, like stones, but to some extent, to lack of interest in the future; the Egyptians thought in terms of millions of years, while Babylonians, only in term of the present.

Unlike the Egyptians who were meek and calm, the people in Mesopotamia were usually described as lightsome, alert, warlike, clever, in skirmish and battle; also bombastic, deceitful, and sanguinary. The instinct of pugnacity was certainly developed to the extreme. "They apparently made war for the mere pleasure of slaying, ravaging, and pillaging."[39] No other people were more fiery and ferocious than these people in Mesopotamia,---Sumerians, Assyrians, or Babylonians. Their culture reflects their martial spirit; a perfect expression of a highly developed pugnacious impulse. "Their year-names often record military victories, weapons are among the most common emblems of their gods, and their reliefs show helmeted troops advancing in compact array behind serried spears and shields. ---The Sumerian cities fought with one another as well as against the Semites, and the kings of Elam kept attacking the plain of Shinar."[40]

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39. Charles Siegnobos: History of Ancient Civilization, p. 39.

40. L. Thorndike, op.cit., p. 57.

The Assyrian kings took delight in fightings, burnings, and massacres just as some savage tribes fight simply because they want to fight. Let us present some passages from the writings of these kings:[40]

Assurnazir-hapal in 1882 says:

"I built a wall before the great gate of a city; I flayed the chiefs of the revolt and with their skins I covered this wall. Some were immured alive in the masonry, others were crucified or impaled along the wall. I had some of them in my presence and had the wall hung with their skins. I arranged their heads like crowns and their transfixed bodies in the form of garlands."

In 745 Tiglath-Pilezer II writes:

"I shut up the king in his royal city. I raised mountains of bodies before his gates. All his villages I destroyed, desolated, burnt. I made the country desert, I changed it into hills and mounds of debries."

In the seventh century Sennacherib wrote:

"I passed like a hurricane of desolation. On the drenched earth the armors and arms swam in the blood of the enemy as in a river. I heaped up bodies of their soldiers like trophies and I cut off their extremities. I mutilated those whom I took alive like blades of straw; as punishment I cut off their hands."

Dr. McDougall has already pointed out the great role that the instinct of pugnacity has played in the evo-

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40. Quoted by W. R. Paterson: The Nemesis of Nations, p. 36.

lution of social organization; how it tends to enforce the "primal law" which has developed in humanity that power of self-control and law-abidingness; how also in defensive or aggressive warfare the necessity of leadership and organization has greatly stimulated not only all forms of social development but a development of a higher moral quality as well.[41] This strong fighting tendency is perhaps responsible for the reputation that "ancient Babylon" has received as a type and symbol of the ancient world---rich, powerful, wise in its way, but very wicked, very elementary in its morals and religion. However, modern discoveries such as that of the Hammurabi code, show that the moral concepts of the Babylonians were by no means inferior to those of any nation in the ancient world. But the imperial expansion led to great advances of culture, which in turn encouraged their combative impulse in such a way as finally to mislead the impulse of pugnacity; fighting was carried on, not as a means of defence, but for its own sake. It became one of the chief disintegrating factors in society, a positive injury to their own group life, brutalizing popular sentiment and feelings, destroying the material foundation of a complex civilization. Any instinct which is over-exercised without being checked and balanced by other instinctive tendencies in

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41. Op.cit., pp. 285-302.

a coordinated and harmonious behaviour pattern will become a detrimental, instead of a beneficial factor in the development of a species.

The Chinese seem to stand between these two reaction types, the Egyptian and the Babylonian, having certain characteristics of each, and yet differing considerably from both of them. It is true that no race or nation can be composed exclusively of one type.[42] Extroverts and introverts are found everywhere. But what is equally true is that a people may be dominated by the extroverted principle, as the Babylonians, or by the introverted principle, as the Egyptians. The early Chinese seem to have recognized this truth, insisting on the understanding of two opposite and yet complementary principles, Ying and Yang. The ideal personality, or "superior man", according to them, is the one who lives by the Confucian doctrine of the Mean. Like the Egyptians they were characterized by a certain calm, a poise, an attitude of superiority, a peacefulness, and yet they were lightsome, gay, and seeking rapport with the outside world. They were not so dreamy and submissive as the Egyptians, but practical and aggressive. They believed in life after death, but what is beyond did not trouble them. Confucius avoided speaking

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42. Both introverted and extroverted types are found in China. This will be discussed in the next Chapter.

of the supernatural, or death, or a future life. "While you cannot serve men, how can you serve spirits? While you do not know life, what can you know about death? To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, that may be called wisdom." Such were the answers he gave, when questioned about these matters. In certain aspects, the characteristics of the modern Chinese have not changed very much from those of the early Chinese. Let us quote here a passage from Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's essay on the civilization of India, China, and Japan:[43]

> "When I landed in China, indeed, when I first saw the Mongolian type at Darjuling, I was aware of a feeling as though an oppressive cloud lifted. ---India was sublime, but it was terrible. China, on the other hand, was human. At the sight of those ugly, cheery, vigorous people I loved them. Their gaiety, as of children, their friendliness, their profound humanity, struck me from the first and remained with me to the last. I can imagine no greater contrast than that between their character, their institutions, their habits, than those of the Indians. The Chinese are, and always have been, secular, as the Indians are, and always have been, profoundly religious."

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43. Essay on the Civilization of India, China, and Japan, p. 44.

At the very beginning of their history, they shared with the Egyptians and Babylonians the emotion of fear, but a different kind of fear. It was not the fear of individual calamities or that of Final Judgement, but that of common enemies of the group, the Northern Barbarians, or Central Asia nomads, who constantly threatened the existence of their commonwealth. Instead of looking up to the heavenly bodies for guidance or calling upon gods of the Lower World, they appealed to their fellow-men in united effort for self-defense, and constructed the well-known Great Wall for protection from the ever-recurring raids of the Turkish nomads or Huns. Thus the tendency to seek the companionship of others was especially strong, since solitary individuals have little chance of survival for existence with the menace of foreign tribes. Confucius' utterance that "all within the four seas are brothers" voiced the sentiment of the ancient Chinese society, and we therefore apply to them the term, fraternal. "Consciousness of kind," was soon developed; and the repeated experiences of the terror of successive invasions throughout the history have literally afflicted the mind of the nation with racial phobia to such an extent that the presence of even a weak stimulus may result in a strong reaction toward alien groups.

The Chinese have always wished to be in and of their own group, to follow their group in all things and

listen, as Mr. Trotter says, to "the voice of the herd." Hence, customs and conventions were in full sway. The knowledge and experiences handed down by their ancestors were regarded as essential rules for conduct. In order to strengthen social bonds, order must first be established, and the "five relationships", maintained. Naturally their prime interest was in man. Social and ethical teachings were exalted to a high plane; philosophy and literature embodied humanistic ideals; music and arts were the supreme cultivation of a higher life. "These have become the component stones in China's true Great Wall against barbarianism ---literature, history, philosophy, and moral character."[44]

If Confucianism is a religion it is a religion of humanity. All those religions in China having an anti-social tendency were soon transformed, extinguished, or degenerated to mere superstition. As Mr. Dickinson says, "It was, it is, Confucianism with its rationalism, its scepticism, its stress on conduct that expresses the Chinese spirit. Over India gleam the stars; over China the sun shines. Mankind is the centre of the Chinese universe."[45] Slavery never existed in China to any great extent; class distinction was never strong, and feudalism was abolished at third century B. C. Here we see the es-

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44. Lynn Thorndike, op.cit., p. 254.

45. Op.cit., p. 45.

sential difference between Chinese culture and that of Babylonia, "Babylon was great", says Paterson, "She used Science, and she used Arts, but she abused Humanity. She invented sun-dials, but she forgot to regulate with justice the hour of labour. She could calculate a star's eclipse, but not her own. No state has been guilty of the waste of human life. And when we see her ruins lying like vast, mysterious autographs scrawled over the desert, her history appears to be full of warning."[46]

Chinese civilization may rightly be called humanistic civilization. The effects of such civilization, from which China has not yet been completely emerged, are immense in moulding the life of the nation. "In her own way, in her life as in her philosophy," says Hovelaque, "China has subordinated everything to human reason and built up a society in harmony with its precepts. This society, founded on labour and agriculture, open to all and the same for all, ruled by a practical and humane system of ethics, China found good; she fell asleep in its stability five thousand years ago."[47]

If we accept the view of Mr. Ku Hung Ming about Chinese civilization we can easily discern that its supremacy is its drawback. He says:[48]

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46. W. Romains Paterson, The Nemesis of Nations, p.210.

47. Op.cit., p. 255.

48. The Spirit of the Chinese People, preface and pp. 2-5.

"Now in order to estimate the value of the Chinese civilization, it seems to me, the question we must finally ask is not what great cities, what magnificent houses, what fine roads it has built and is able to build; what beautiful and comfortable furniture, what clever and useful implements, tools and instruments it has made and is able to make; no, not even what institutions, what arts and science it has invented: the question we must ask, in order to estimate the value of a civilization,---is, what type of personality what kind of men and women it has been able to produce. In fact, the man and woman, the type of human beings---which a civilization produces, it is this which shows the essence, the personality, so to speak, the soul of that civilization." "In fact, in order to understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilization, a man must be deep, broad and simple, for the three characteristics of the Chinese character and the Chinese civilization are: depth, broadness and simplicity---" "For in addition to the three characteristics of the real Chinaman and Chinese civilization which I have already mentioned, I must here add one more, and that the Chinese characteristics, namely delicacy; delicacy to a preeminent degree such as you will find nowhere else except perhaps among the ancient Greeks and their civilization."

As already shown the Chinese were not devoid of the instinct

of pugnacity and were able to resist successfully their enemies and to expand their national boundaries. But the great cultural effects, which became a reaction against militarism, acted upon the mass, suppressing the fighting tendency, and cultivating, as Mr. Ku says, "delicacy to a preeminent degree." The refined Sung culture, which Western scholars highly esteem, can be also characterized by this phrase. It is due to this characteristic of delicacy that China has exposed her weakness; and in spite of the Great Wall, Mongols and Tartars swept over her territory, and her modern neighbours encroached upon her sovereignty.

Humanistic civilization moreover is decidedly against the means of modern progress, namely machines. Let us present here again the view of Commissioner Lin, who was sent to England in 1876 and who seemed to represent the type of Chinese mind at his time. He wrote:[49]

> "The doctrine handed down from our holy men of old may be summed up in two words, humanity and justice. ---All creatures that live and breathe under heaven have ears and eyes, claws, and teeth, and each endeavors to obtain for itself as much as possible to eat and drink, and to carry off more than its fellows; man alone is able to set a bound to his greed. Men can be considered to be superior to the beasts only because he knows of virtue

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49. Translation from Chinese in Nineteenth Century, Oct. 1880.

and abstract right, and can see that material strength and self-advantage are not everything. At present the nations of Europe think it praise-worthy to relieve the poor and to help the distressed, and are therefore humane in this one respect; they think it important to be fair and truthful, and therefore just in this one respect. If the Europeans in truth understood the duties resulting from the Five Relationships, then we discern the effect in their lives---peace and order would reign supreme, and there would be no unstrained rivalry or angry greed, making use of deadly weapons to bring destruction on mankind. But do we see these results in Western countries? No, indeed, their whole energy is centered in the manufacture of different kinds of machines; steam vessels and locomotives to bring rapid returns of profits, guns and rifles to slay their fellow-men. -----Prosperity is wealth to the foreigner; moderation in his desires to the Chinese. Material power is might to the foreigner, to live and let live is might to the Chinese. But the heaping up of words will not explain these principles. China forbids strange devices (machinery) in order to prevent confusion; she encourages humanity and justice as the very foundations of good government, and this will be her policy for ever."

This explains why the effect for more than half a century of the western waves on Chinese culture is only

now becoming self-evident, and the process of change is just now in full flood. The whole setting of Chinese culture is so different from that of Western that no amount of mere "contact" could have caused it to change.

Gregarious tendency as we described above is, however, only secondary to a still stronger one, the parental instinct, which, with the Chinese, has become the main spring of action. Tender love for children among Chinese men has puzzled many Western observers, among whom some even resort to endocrine influence for its explanation. Constructive impulses and defensive activities were called forth to play in the service of this instinct and reenforced by gregarious tendency. No doubt, the parental instinct gives rise to a whole series of coordination in society; the most important is the evolution of the family, of ancestor worship and filial piety. Thus the family, being their religious and social unit, becomes the basis of Chinese civilization. The structure of Chinese society is built upon the conception of the state as an enlarged family and of the family as the state in miniature. It determines the conduct of individuals and regulates the affairs of groups. The well known Chinese characteristics of industry, frugality, and forbearance is an outgrowth of its influence. Tender emotion such as love and tenderness accompaying the parental instinct have also developed aesthetic feeling and impulse in the way of artistic produc-

tion in poetry, painting, and music. Any fresh elements assimilated must suffer change and modification in harmony with this general tendency. For instance, in spite of the popularity of the Indian god, Avelokitesvara, in China, the Indian priests were unable to impose the Sanskrit name of their god on the Chinese, and he was worshipped as Kwan-ying, goddess of mercy, or Kwang-non in Japan. The quality of "mercy" seems to have appeared to the Chinese as feminine rather than masculine, and hence Kwan-ying is believed to be the feminine manifestation of Avelokitesvara. When later, the title, "Giver of sons" was added to that of "mercy" the goddess acquired a popularity that defied all Indian Buddhist influence and has lasted up to the present day in China as well as in Japan.

But familism carried to the extreme as in China tends to check individual initiative on the one hand and national consciousness on the other. It demands submission to conventions, and thus even seems to have crushed genius and discovery and leadership. Hence, the cult of family which is the strength of Chinese culture is also China's weakness.

Thus far we have briefly noted the main features of Chinese culture which distinguish it from that of Egypt or Babylonia. We have also noted that Egypt, Babylonia, and China have formed their distinctive cultural patterns in accordance with the predominance of certain innate ten-

dencies in their relation with temperamental and environmental factors. We find that Egyptians are more submissive, Babylonians, assertive, while Chinese between the two, are fraternal. Fear is their common emotional experience at the early stage of social development, but when fear is combined with the submissive type of mind, religion is developed; when with the assertive, science and wealth; while with the fraternal, ethics and customs. In the strength of constructive tendency Egyptians are foremost, Babylonians come next and then Chinese. Tombs and temples, myths and legends are natural products of the submissive, religious, and melancholic people; scientific constructions, towers and palaces, those of the assertive, warlike, and more curious; cities and homes, moral precepts and customs, those of the mild, gentle, and fraternal. The combative tendency is most developed among the assertive, less among the mild, and least among the submissive and melancholic. This tendency has helped Babylonian civilization to spread fast and wide. For centuries Babylon was the brain of the East, and at the height of her civilization, even her language was imposed upon Egyptian diplomacy. Gregarious and parental instincts are more congenial with the mild and gentle. We find that the sense of humanity is in the centre of Chinese life; but it occupies only a secondary place in the Egyptian, while it counts for very little in the Babylonian. Hence Chinese culture and the Egyptian,

to some extent, have continued to the present day, while the Babylonian perished.

Cultural patterns devised according to specific innate tendencies and temperamental factors exert their influence on the behaviour of the individual and assimilate only those elements fitted for their own scheme. They become a strong factor in habit formation, in shaping the mood and attitude of the members of the group, and to some extent, in effecting physical growth as well. From the above discussion we have seen the effect of culture on the conduct and character of Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chinese. As a rule, an ancient civilization by its weight and prestige often produces conservatism, especially religious and ethical types. Both humanistic and materialistic cultures made the Chinese and Babylonians respectively more practical and secular than the Egyptians, whose culture demanded religious contemplation. But humanistic and religious cultures made Chinese and Egyptians more peaceful and refined than the Babylonians, whose culture encouraged them to be more pugnacious and aggressive.

It is difficult for us to trace Chinese culture back to any other source than to their own nature, their reaction to environment, and other psychological factors. The interpretation of a given culture must be based on historical, geographical, psychological as well as other essential facts; an interpretation in the light of racial or ethnic origins alone, would yield but inadequate results.

CHAPTER III

RACIAL COMPLEX AND TEMPERAMENTAL TRAITS

No one can handle the question of race without watching his steps carefully, for anthropologists differ widely in the matter. They have not even agreed upon the number of racial classifications of mankind; Crawford and Burke, for instance, enumerate 62, Gliddon lists 150, while Cuvier and Quatrefages are satisfied with only three.[1] It is the loose use of the term that gives rise to a great amount of confusion. Sometimes the term race refers to certain physical attributes, sometimes to language, and sometimes to culture or nation. As used in natural science it denotes a subdivision of the species inheriting common characteristics. But "divisions are only artificial names," as Lamark said long ago, "for, in truth, nature has formed neither classes nor orders, neither families, nor sorts, nor species."[2]

We have shown in the previous chapter the inadequacy of explaining any culture by tracing racial or ethnic origins, but it does not follow that hereditary racial differences have no significance whatever for cultural development. In fact, we have given a lengthy dis-

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1. F. Hertze, Race and Civilization, p. 20.

2. Quoted by Hertze, Ibid.

cussion of the influence of mental difference upon the Egyptian, Babylonian and Chinese cultural patterns, and of the result of the interplay between certain innate tendencies, temperamental and environmental factors which differentiate them one from the other.

Psychologists have only recently begun experimental studies of racial differences. Though the results obtained are not quite sufficient for rendering an accurate account of the significance of race in culture, yet they do give an insight into the problem. On the other hand there has recently arisen an anthropological school which claims that race has nothing to do with the development of culture, that all depends on cultural contacts. The so-called superorganic, super-individual, and super-psychological nature of cultural phenomena have been much emphasized by Kroeber[3] and Ogburn[4] to the negation of the role played by individual and race. All explanations of cultural changes must be sought for in culture itself, not even in biological change, for cultural changes have taken place more rapidly than it would be possible for mutations to occur. Boas and his students insist that historical contacts and accidental discovery loom so large that innate creative ability is relatively unimportant.[5]

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3. A. L. Kroeber, The Superorganic, Amer. Anthropo. Vol. XIX, 1917, pp. 163-213.

4. W. F. Ogburn, Social Change, pp. 11-40; 61-66.

5. F. Boas, Anthropology, p. 28, and his Fallacy of racial inferiority, Current History, 1927, 25, 677-682.

Both Goldenweiser[6] and Lowie[7] maintain that cultural changes interpreted historically are referred to cultural antecedents, not to racial, environmental, or general psychological ones. In short, they argue that culture grows, to be sure, only through man; but culture itself, and not man, is the causative factor that conditions the rate of growth. A view such as this held by cultural determinists is no more justified than that of racial extremists who claim that race is the sole determining factor. There is something to be said in favour of the cultural determinist position, but wholly to neglect the human factor is to commit a gross error.

There are at least three oustanding characteristics of culture that have been generally recognized by anthropologists and none of them can be explained apart from the fundamental nature of man. (1) Culture is cumulative. It is cumulative simply because "man is a culture building animal." With the lapse of time new traits develop and are added to the old. These traits may be brought about by imitation, wittingly or unwittingly, or by the creative genius of some individuals in the group.

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6. A. A. Goldenweiser, Four Phases of Anthropological Thought, Pub. Amer. Solog. Soc., 1921, 16, p. 35.

7. Lowie says: "We cannot reduce cultural to psychological phenomena any more than we can reduce biology to mechanics or chemistry, because in either case the very facts we desire to have explained are ignored in the more generalized formulation." Culture and Ethnology, pp. 1, 7-18.

They in turn are copied and modified by subsequent generations and constitute what Wallace called "social heritage." (2) Culture is continuous. "Cultural continuity is made possible by the more fundamental fact of the actual biological continuity of race."[8] Traits acquired by the race may persist for thousands of generations, and many contemporary habits can be traced into a distant past. (3) That the diffusion of culture depends upon the mobility of man goes without saying. The spread of culture, conscious or unconscious, is to a great extent due to fundamental psychological factors, "that is, either to an instinctive response, to specific tendencies peculiar to the people affected, or else to some practically useful end which has already received recognition in the existing culture of the community."[9]

Wissler rightly shows the relation between the basic cultural content and the original nature of man. He points out that the universality of common elements in all cultures can not be explained by the incidents of environment or history, but must in some way be related to the very nature of man. Particular types of material culture, of social systems, of art, are determined by history but the capacity to make tools, to organize socially, or to produce art, is imbeded in man's psychology and ultimately

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8. E. Edman: Human Traits and their Social Significance, p. 243.

9. F. C. Barlett, Psychology and Primitive Culture, p.190.

therefore in germ plasm. "So whatever may be the real nature of the pattern for culture as a whole," writes Wissler, "it is to be considered as nothing less than a set of human germ plasm, and both the mechanisms and the drives that underlie the objective phenomena of culture, in their totality, constitute the native equipment of man."[10] It is an observable fact that differences in temperament and taste among different races affect the content of their culture, especially social institutions and esthetic products. The study of any culture which does not take into account the psychological factors which make up the daily life of the people living under these cultures must be, in the end, sterile. It is only through a knowledge of the manner in which different aspects of a culture are interrelated, and of the psychological interplay between the culture and the minds of the individuals who live in it, that we can come to a comprehension of culture process.

Having thus briefly surveyed the trend of modern views on race and culture, we are now ready to consider the influence of racial factors upon Chinese culture and the effect of culture on the race. The racial components of the Chinese are not so clearly established as those of the English, which, we may

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10. Man and Culture, p. 272.

say, are essentially a blend of Nordic and Mediterranean; or that of the Germans, a blend of Nordic and Alpine, or again that of the French, blended in more or less equal proportion from all three European races, Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean. The Chinese have been generally classified by ethnologists as Mongoloid, for they possess similar features. It has, however, long been recognized that at least two elements contribute to the formation of the Chinese race. Fouillee writes in his Psychologie du Peuple Francais: "Les populations jaunes sont, dit-on, principalement composées de deux elements: d'abord un nouveau type, l'Homo Asiaticus (Linne), jaune de tient, melancolique de temperament, raide, poils noirs, yeux noirs, enclin a reverer, avare,---luridus, melanchiloicus, rigidus, pilis nigricantibus, oculis fuscis, reverens, avarus; type encore dolichocéphale et, au moral, très intelligent; deuxièmenment, l'Homo Alpinus, déja nommé, brachycephale. Ce dernier a une influence très marquée en Asie, notamment en Chine, où il est intervenu en conquérant, dit-on, et ou il aurait, a en croire M. de Lapouge, 'glacé' la civilization indigène de l'Homo Asiaticus(?)."[11]

As regards the racial characteristics of the early Chinese very little data are available, hence, all our reasoning on the nature of the inhabitants of China

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11. Alfred Fouillée, Psychologie du Peuple Français, p. 81.

must be limited to a discussion of the character of the modern Chinese.[12] As a result of recent investigations it has been claimed that several types have been discovered. A summary of the anthropometrical measurements indicates that the range of variation is very wide. According to Shirokogorof, the northern Chinese include four different anthropological types, yet the southern Chinese include types unknown in the north.[13] He suggests that the gradual movement eastward resulted in the amalgamation of the Chinese, the Tungus, and the Palaeasiatics, and that mixing has taken place with tribes who are mostly very round-headed, and thus has modified an originally long-headed type. Buxton, however, is inclined to think that the Chinese are in general of a homogeneous physical type, as evidenced by surprisingly small variation of the cephalic index, and that Shirokogorof's sweeping statement is based on very scanty data.[14] While we admit that further

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12. One skull dated about 2nd century was discovered by Virchow in 1913 in Shangtung; it shows a mixture of Alpine and Caspian types. A second one of considerable age was discovered by Zogrof in 1893 and it represents a mixture of Palae-Alpine and Proto-Negro (see Dixon's op.cit., p.280) Since the neolithique period the types of the inhabitants of northern China, anthropologically, were the same as to-day. See Black, The human skeleton remains from Sha kuo t'un, and A note on the physical characters of the prehistoric Kansu race, Pekin, 1925 (quoted in Maspero's La Chine Antique, p. 16.)

13. The Physical Growth of Chinese People, p. 89, see also his Anthropology of North China, and Anthropology of South China.

14. B. Buxton, The People of Asia, pp. 62, 161.

study is needed before any definite conclusion can be drawn, we may nevertheless distinguish two well-marked types: the northern and the southern, or in Dr. Dixon's terms, the Han and the Sung types. An analysis of 1187 cephalic indices of the living population of China proper shows the following percentages:[15]

1. Dolico-cephalic (long-headed) . . . 14.41%
2. Meso-cephalic (medium-headed) . . . 42.12%
3. Brachy-cephalic (round-headed) . . .43.47%

The result of the investigation as shown above bears out the fact that meso-cephalic elements are the most dominant, with a tendency toward dolico-cephalic in the north and brachy-cephalic in the south.[16] According to Mr. Bradley,[17] the dolicephal is materialistic, the brachy-cephal is idealistic, and the mesocephal generally intermediate. That the brachy-cephalic elements are more dominant in the Yangtze valley is significant, in virtue

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15. The China Year Book, 1928, p. 34.

16. The following tentative conclusions in regard to the physical traits of the Chinese are here quoted from China Year Book (1928):
(1) There are two types of dolico-cephalic Chinese: the dolico-leptorrhinnic, more prevailent in Shangtung; and the dolico-platyrrhninnic in Kansu and Kwangsi.
(2) The brachy-cephalic elements are numerically more dominant in the Yangtze valley with Kiangsu as the center of its purest form. They are also of two types.
(3) The meso-cephalic element is the most dominant.
(4) There is a trace of the dwarf element in South China.

17. R. N. Bradley, Racial Origin of English Character, p. 64.

of the fact that it is the home of the Taoist whose metaphysical philosophy leads way to abstraction and to the idea of the Absolute, contrary to the Confucianist of the north whose practical ethical teaching centered around the doctrine of the Mean. In other words, Laotze is brachycephalic, while Confucius is a meso-cephalic type with a slight tincture of dolico-cephalic pragmatism.

Chinese civilization had its rise, as Dr. Dixon points out, in an area where Caspian elements were mixed with Alpine. "With each century more and more of the surrounding tribes have become amalgamated with it," says Professor Tylor, "and it is for this reason that is the great rival of white dominance."[18] There is no doubt that miscegenation has taken place; intermarriages with alien groups have sometimes been actually recorded in the history. But how far this process of racial crossing has gone no one as yet seems to know. Tibetans, Tartars, Japanese, Shans and other nationalities may have all contributed to create the prevailing Chinese type, and perhaps, according to some anthropologists, no pure Chinese element can be found. Nevertheless, we must be aware of the fact that intermarriages even between one province and another rarely occur. Few would go so far as to say that the earliest

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18. Anthropology, p. 152.

group of the historical Chinese, designated by the Chinese people themselves as the "descendants of the Yellow Emperor", is a blend of different ethnic types. This group has been rightly taken as the one which is responsible for the creation of art, literature, philosophy and many other valuable elements in Chinese civilization. During the invasions of Turks and Huns, and the Mongol and the Manchu conquests, a large number of these "descendants of Yellow Emperor" migrated southwards where they have kept themselves intact through occasionally they mixed with the aborigines.

Ellsworth Huntington thinks that the mountain tribes of the Hakkas who have been driven to the south are a purely Chinese race, practically unmixed with other elements, unless it be with an early Mongolic element long ago in North China. "They lived remote from the sea and far from foreign influence. Yet among them, more than among any other groups of Chinese, one finds the highest development of these qualities which cause south China to be more progressive than north China."[19] He quotes the testimony of Mr. Spiker, who has lived among them, that the Hakkas are the cream of the Chinese people. "Again the Hakkas, more fearless and self-reliant than the town dwellers, have all the love of liberty which characterizes

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19. Character of Races, pp. 168-169.

mountaineers the world over. They were the last to surrender to the Manchus and twice strove to throw off their yoke, first under the Taiping chief and again in the present century."[20] The point that Dr. Huntington seeks to bring out is that neither racial mixture nor foreign influence can account for the superiority of the south over the north, it is through the process of natural selection such as famine that the better stock of the northern Chinese has been compelled to migrate to the south. New elements from surrounding tribes, as well as from the Mongols and Manchus, may have contributed to the formation of the cultural complex, but it is the Chinese elements that constitute the main current of the stream. The qualities of the wild Scythian character, for instance, have been much modified and softened down by the influence of Chinese Culture, but the fierce and warlike spirit of the Scythians has only very little effect on the culture and the character of the Chinese.[21]

Admitting that the present population is an amalgamation of many different ethnic units we still have to

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20. Character of Races, pp. 168-169.

21. According to Backiang Leang the northern Chinese show a mixture of Tartar blood; his statement is based on an extensive study of blood tests. See his Neue Untersuchungen ueber Isohhamagglutine bei den Chinesen, inbensondere die geographische Anderung des Hanagglutionsindex (Biochemisch Rassenindex), in Arch. fur Hygiene, Vol. 94, Nos. 1, 2, 1924, Munschen. But it does not influence much of Chinese character, still less the culture.

answer the question as to what is the cause of the general uniformity which is so conspicuous that even the anthropologists of high standing fail to acknowledge the complexity of the Chinese race. The usual answer to the question is that this general homogeneous character is imparted to the whole people by their common political, social and religious institutions, and by the principle of convergence, in virtue of which different ethnic groups, thrown together in the same area and brought under a single administration, tend to merge in a uniformly new national type. But this answer is by no means exhaustive, for we will have to ask again what causes them to have common political, social and religious institutions. Are the mere mingling together and common cultural agencies alone sufficient to effect a general uniformity of racial character? Or are there certain fundamental factors inherent in man that must also be taken into account as a force in welding and adjusting diverse elements into a harmonious cultural complex which later becomes so effective that individuals who are brought within it or born in it must adopt similar behaviours and eventually assume a common characteristic? This cultural complex may be regarded as made up of social habits that with the passing of years exert a modifying power not only upon mental, but physical attributes as well. Hence, a more detailed psychological analysis is necessary in order to arrive at a better understanding of the character of

the Chinese and their culture.

In the previous chapter certain instinctive tendencies which are more prominent with the Chinese were discussed, and here we propose to make a brief study of their temperament and to indicate its reciprocal effects on the culture. Of recent years endocrinology has attracted much scientific and popular attention, for it seems to have thrown some light on the study of personality. It has been shown that no disease or disturbance of any of the glands of internal secretion happens without some corresponding and often striking change in the personality. Thus, an insufficient or excessive secretion of the sexual glands may result in a complete transformation of the person afflicted. A temporary disequilibrium of the anterior and posterior parts of the pituitary in their relations to adrenal glands may absolutely change the psychic reaction of the individual to the environment. Deficiency or over functioning of the thyroid may produce physical and mental symptoms of cretinism in the case of the former, the nervousness and other symptoms of axopthalamic goitre in the latter. Furthermore, intelligence and temperament, as well as individual and racial vigor and vitality, according to the endocrinologists, are to a certain extent conditioned by the productivity of our glands of internal secretion.

It should be, however, understood that endocrinology as a study is yet in its infancy and is a somewhat

hypothetical branch of physiological science. Psychologists are still conservative in their assumptions regarding the influence of glands upon emotion and temperament. To attribute racial differences, physical as well as mental, to the influence of glands alone is apt to enlarge a molehill into a mountain. Thus, we find in the admirable work of Mr. Shirokogorof, The Physical Growth of the Chinese,[22] the following statement:

> "Our conclusion is: the endocrine complex defines not only the process of physical growth, but the psychic behaviour of ethnical units, so that the peculiarities of Chinese psychology and behaviour may be explained as the result of their glandular complex."

Among several peculiarities of Chinese behaviour mentioned by Mr. Shirokogorof, there is one which seems to be more plausible than the others, that is, what he calls "womanly love for children among men." But this can be explained by factors other than the glandular influence. As we have already shown, the parental instinct is especially strong with the Chinese. That the Chinese man is especially fond of children is nothing peculiar, since the parental instinct is by no means altogether lacking in men, even savage fathers show tenderness and kindness

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22. S. M. Shirokogorof, The Physical Growth of the Chinese, p. 115.

for their little children.[23] Chinese traditions, ethics, familism and other cultural factors, all seem to increase and strengthen tender emotion not only among women but among men as well. It is quite natural that some men are so strongly endowed with this innate tendency that their tenderness for children may appear somewhat like womanly love. It is this powerful emotional influence that binds the Chinese family together, and in turn, the family preserves this inheritance in men. There is certainly something more than mere endocrine secretion that is responsible for this peculiarity. Observing that Chinese children are treated with kindness and gentleness everywhere, Dr. Wihelm remarks in his Die Seele Chinas that a people who loves children and can laugh and play with them is good in the depth of its soul.[24] To the people who live under the humanistic culture, children are essential and necessary; in fact they have become a real joy in life and the light of their homes. Further, to this love of children, which has been the heritage of the Chinese, we may attribute certain features of Chinese culture; namely, harmony and peace.

> When wives and children and their sires are one
> 'Tis like the harp and lute in unison.
> When brothers live in concord and in peace,

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23. W. McDougall, Social Psychology, p. 72.

24. English translation, The Soul of China, p. 280.

The strains of harmony shall never cease.
The lamp of happy union lights the home,
And bright days follow when the children come.[25]

According to Professor Shellshear the thymus persists among the Chinese sometimes till old age, and with other authors he considers it to be a factor of retardation.[26] Furthermore, he asserts that the persistence of the thymus glands found in the Chinese must be regarded as innate. Now the function of the thymus is still a matter of debate. A number of experiments show that the thymus dominates childhood, its chief function being that of retarding the development of the reproductive organs. If Professor Shellshear's account is true how can we explain the fact that in spite of famine, civil wars, and other calamities the population of China still numbers four hundred and fifty millions. If the thymus predominates over the gonad among the Chinese will one not be surprised to find that while marriage is not compulsory in China bachelors and old maids are rarely found?

Mr. Shirokogorof mentions the childish behaviour in Chinese adults, which, according to him, is due to the persistence of the thymus gland, because it is the thymus that makes the child childish.[27] Nevertheless, no

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25. The Book of Odes quoted in Mr. Ku Hung-ming's translation of the Chung Yung.

26. Quoted by Shirokogorof, op.cit., p. 117.

27. Ibid., 116.

other gland has been so much shrouded in mystery as the thymus, and to ascribe this Chinese peculiarity to its cause is necessarily unscientific. Moreover, the most recent work tends to the opinion that the thymus functions throughout life, though it seems to be of particular importance in the early life of the individual.[28] Hence its persistence in the Chinese is by no means peculiar. What then is the explanation? Again we find it related to the parental instinct. In China an individual is always like a link, intermediate between two parties. He is linked up with his parents on the one hand, and with his children on the other. The profound love for children brings him closer to a child's life, affording him an emotional outlet, and making him cheerful, gay, and elated. The demand for filial piety arouses feelings of submission, of devotion, and of attachment. Changes from elation to subjection, that is, from positive to negative self-feeling and back again, are frequent and rapid; and thus the man resembles a child. He is a child before his parents and also a child with his children.[29] When we understand the mainspring of

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28. B. Harrow: Glands in Health and Disease, p. 135-136.

29. The following story related in the Book of Filial Piety may seem to be exagerated and naive, yet it shows the influence of filial piety on the behaviour of the Chinese. "In the Chou dynasty there flourished Lao Lai Tze, who was upwards of seventy years of age, and made every effort to rejoice and comfort his parents, constantly endeavouring to gladden their hearts. At times he imitated the playfulness of a little child, and arraying himself in

the Chinese behaviour we shall then not wonder why the Chinese people, old as they are as a nation, are to the present day a nation of children.

But as Mr. H.M.Ku has pointed out, the Chinese, though living the life of a child, a life of the heart, are different from the primitive people who also live a life of the heart, in that they have "a power of mind and rationality" which enables them to deal quite successfully with the complex and difficult problems of civilization, government, and social life. "In other words," writes Mr. Ku, "the wonderful peculiarity of the Chinese is that for a people who have lived so long as a grown-up nation, a nation of adult reason, they are yet able to this day to live the life of a child---a life of the heart. In short the real Chinaman is a person with the head of a grown-up man and the heart of a child."[30] Through out their whole life the Chinese seem to be constantly striving toward harmony and equilibrium of the head and heart, or feeling and intellect, the result of which sonstitutes the essential traits of the culture.

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in gaudy and variegated clothes, amused them by his strutting and gambols. ----Thus did Lai forget his age in order to rejoice the hearts of his parents; and affection, harmony, joy prevailed among the family." Respect in China is not only paid to parents, but to youth as well. Thus Confucius said: "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present?..."

30. The Spirit of the Chinese People, pp. 12-13.

Twofold is the life we live in;
Fate and will together run,
Two wheels bear the charriot onward,
Will it move on only one?
---Old Chinese proverb.

We have now come to the point where we may observe more closely the temperamental traits of the Chinese. From the study of glands, we hope to gain a better knowledge of the most significant psychological differences of the race, but at present we have to look to other factors of temperament for the explanation of their course of mental development. Dr. C. G. Jung has classified individuals as being either extrovert or introvert depending upon whether they have a tendency to go out to the world of objects and external affairs or whether they tend to become preoccupied by their own thoughts and emotions. These terms have been adopted by Dr. McDougall to characterize the typical reaction of the European races; Nordic being considered as constitutionally introvert; Mediterranean constitutionally extrovert; while Alpine, in both physical and mental qualities, stands between the two, being rather introvert than extrovert, but not so extremely introvert as the Nordic race.[31] We have seen that Alpine elements are prevailing in China, and this seems to correlate with the observation of psychologists that the Chinese are introvert. But it is important to note the degree of their

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31. Is America Safe for Democracy?, pp. 87-89.

introversion. It has also been said that the most recent investigation shows the predominance of the meso-cephalic elements, though the brachy-cephalic elements yield the largest percentage in figure. Hence, we may be justified in believing that the Chinese seem to stand between the two extremes with a marked tendency toward introversion.

Let us now consider some of the introvert traits of the Chinese, as revealed in those personalities who have influenced the course of culture and history. First, there appears the most outstanding figure, Laotze (604 B. C.), who represents the extreme type of introvert. He has all the characteristics of an introvert; is reserved, cold, watchful and difficult to understand. He occupied himself with a priori principles rather than with observations of Phenomena, withdrawing himself from participation in affairs, and was possessed by a feeling of loneliness and a sense of inferiority. He says of himself:

"All men are radiant with happiness, as if enjoying a great feast, as if mounted on a tower in spring, I alone am still and give as yet no sign of joy. I am like an infant which has not yet smiled, forlorn as one who has no where to lay his head. Other men have plenty, while I alone seem to have lost all. I am a man foolish in heart, dull and confused.[32]

"Ordinary men look bright and intelligent, while

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32. Tao Te King, Chap. XX, 2.

I alone seem to be benighted. Other men are alert; I alone am listless. I am unsettled as the ocean, drifting as though I had no stopping place. All men have their sphere of action, while I alone seem dull and incapable, like a rude borderer. Lonely though I am and unlike other men, yet I revere the Foster-Mother, Tao.[33]

"My words are very easy to understand, very easy to put into practice; yet the world can neither understand nor practice them. My words have a clue, my actions have an underlying principle. It is because men do not know the clue that they understand me not.

"Those who know me are but few, and on that account my honor is the greater. Thus the sage wears coarse garments, but carries a jewel in his bosom."[34]

These passages seem to suggest to us that Laotze is self-analytical, takes things personally, and is quite concerned about himself. His impulses and emotions do not seem to have found a ready expression; not only is his writing difficult to understand, but he even would not say much. Had he not been persuaded by the keeper of the pass in the mountain to put down in writing the philosophy he had conceived in his mind, when he started off into exile, his whole teaching would have been lost. All that

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33. Tao Te King, Chap. XX, 12.

34. Ibid., Chap LXXI, 1, 2, 3.

he wrote however, is contained in a very short treatise of five thousand words. He says:

"The sage occupies himself with inaction, and conveys instruction without words.

"Abstaining from speech marks him who is obeying the spontaneity of his nature.

"There are few in the world who attain to the teaching without words, and the advantage arising from non-action.[35]

"He who knows (the Tao) does not care to speak about it; he who is ever ready to speak about it does not know it."[36]

His fundamental teaching is based on his conception of Tao. Dr. Jung considers Laotze's Tao as an irrational union of opposites, therefore it is and is not. "Thus," he says, "the aim of the Taoistic ethic sets out to find deliverance from that tension of the opposites which is an inherent property of the universe, by a return to Tao."[37] But Tao for Laotze is not a middle path that lies between the opposites. Such a conception is that of Confucius, for he recognizes the opposites and takes the middle course, while Lao-tze ignores or is at least indif-

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35. Tao Te King, Chap XXIII, 1.

36. Ibid., Chap. LXVI, 1.

37. Psychological Types, p. 268.

ferent to the opposites, but clings to the Absolute or Tao, in which the opposites are not only reconciled but disappear. Therefore, he says: "Only one who is eternally free from earthly passions can apprehend the spiritual essence of the Tao (the noumenon); he who is ever clogged by passions can see no more than its outer form (phenomenon). He who follows Tao has become united with the eternal and immutable principle; he has been re-absorbed into the ONE."

For Lao-tze, Tao is a vital impulse, or something like Bergson's Elan vital, or Jung's Libido, or life force in general. He says:

"All things are produced by the Tao, and nourished by its outflowing operation. They received their forms according to the nature of each, and are completed according to the circumstances of their condition. Therefore all things without exception honor the Tao, and exalt its outflowing operation.

"This honoring of the Tao and exalting of its operation is not the result of any ordination, but always a spontaneous tribute.

"Thus it is that Tao, engendering all things, nourishes them, perfects them, ripens them, tends them, and protects them.

"Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination is its

mysterious operation.[38]

"The Tao which originated all is to be considered as Mother of them all. He who knows the mother and thereby understands the child, and who, having comprehended the child, still keeps to its mother,---he will be in no danger throughout his life.[39]

"The mightiest manifestations of active force flow solely from Tao."

Tao then is really the principle of an introvert; various terms are used to describe it---such as; "the Spirit of valley",[40] "The female mystery",[41] "The gate",[42] "the root",[43] and so on. These terms remind one of Freud's Oedipus complex, though Lao-tze's Tao contains few sexual ideas. The understanding of this vital impulse, Tao, is all that is necessary;[44] to meddle with the world of senses only leads to confusion and hopelessness.[45] Therefore, "do nothing, and nothing is not done."[46] That is the way

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38. Tao Te King, Chap. LII, 1, 2.

39. Ibid., Chap. LI, 1, 2, 3, 4.

40. Ibid., Chap. VI, 7.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., Chap. XXV, 3.

45. Ibid., Chap. XII, 5.

46. Ibid., Chap. ILVIII, 6.

of nature; "nature does nothing and yet there is nothing that remains undone."[47] His view of human nature will be considered in a later chapter together with that of other Chinese thinkers, but it suffices here to say that Lao-tze like other introverts engaged himself in the subjective world; his life is moved by the inward nature, rather than motivated by an outward object.

The story of his being visited by Confucius, while he was yet a curator in the Royal Library may be fictitious, or at least embellished, but it doubtless rightly indicates how they could not understand each other---the world looks differently to each; it is not that they approach the same problem from different points of view, but the problems are different.[48] Confucius must have appeared to Lao-tze like

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47. Tao Te King, Chap. XXXVII, 8.

48. After this chapter was written I came across a passage by Lewis Mumford in his review on Chinese Culture and Art in which he says: "To use a psychological cliche, Confucianism represents the extravert phase of the Chinese spirit. Manners may harden into empty form, thought may become a repetition of platitudes, art itself may become stereotyped and dry---but the spirit still faces outward and proclaims its conquest over the original brutishness of Nature and Man. ---On the contrary, we see that Taoism is as deeply rooted in human nature as Confucianism; for it represents the inevitable introversion that follows when the spirit is overpowered by circumstances---"(New Republic, 40 Sup. 9-11 Oct. 1, 1924). But Confucius is not a pure extrovert; he stands between the two extreme types. He was not only misunderstood by Lao-tze but also by Moh-tze, an extreme extrovert. This will be seen toward the end of this chapter. Besides, Confucius' spirit never "proclaims its conquest over the original brutishness of Nature and Man." See Chapters V and VI.

a busybody, meddling in everybody's affairs, while Lao-tze must have appeared to Confucius like an other-worldley dreamer, soaring among the clouds of his own speculation.[49] Lao-tze finds within himself the unconditioned value, for he has given Tao an asylum in his heart. Confucius finds the unconditioned value outside himself, that is, the well-ordered state governed by superior men. The former emphasises inactivity, the latter, strenuous endeavour. When introvert and extrovert were brought together, is there any wonder that they should have been incomprehensible to each other? Though Confucius has won the day, Lao-tze's Tao has found an underground channel and expressed itself through different minds and ages, and yet remains ever itself. It has not only profoundly influenced the art and poetry of certain periods, its spirit has informed the life of the people and is embodied in the very content of Chinese culture.[50]

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49. When he was asked by Confucius concerning history, he answered: "The men about whom you talk are dead, and their bones are moulded to dust. ---Put away your proud airs and many desires, insinuating habits and wild will." They are of no advantage to you---this is all I have to tell you." Confucius said to his disciples after the interview: "I know how the birds fly, how the fishes swim, how animals run. But there is the dragon. I can not tell how it mounts on the wind through the clouds and flies through heaven. Today I have seen Lao-tze, and I can only compare him to the dragon." (SBE, 39:34-35)

50. Hoveleque says: "Symbolically Lao-tze was called the "Ancient Child", for he combined extreme wisdom with the malveté, the mysterious intuitions of childhood. In later days foreigners have seen in him something symbolic of China herself, at once senile and childlike." See La Chine, p. 127.

There is another significant trait of the introvert that has influenced Chinese culture to a certain extent. The introvert who finds himself in an endopsychic state is often occupied with phantasies or day-dreams; his dream-world is just as real as the actual world, if not more real. Just as Lao-tze withdrew himself from the world and went to exile, so did his great disciple, Chuang-tze live in a world of ideas and dreams.[51] He says: "By and by comes the Great Awakening, and then we find out that this life is really a great dream. ---Confucius and you are both dreams---I am but a dream myself." Again he says, "I dreamt I was a butterfly. Suddenly I awaked, and I was a man. Now I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming that I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterly dreaming that I am a man. Perhaps I am neither the one nor the other. I speak of waking: ought I to say instead Metempsychosis?"[52] Plato would have readily agreed with Chung-tze for he often says that men live only in a dream; the philosopher alone strives to wake himself. Schopenhauer too, since he says, "Life and dreams are

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51. Dr. L. Giles' description of Chung-tze shows his introversion clearly: "Bold in fancy yet retiring by disposition, prone to melancholy yet full of eager enthusiasm, a natural sceptic yet inspired with boundless belief in his doctrine, he was a man full of contradictions, but none the less fitted to make a breach in the castiron traditions of Confucianism, if not to draw others after him in the same track." (Musing of a Chinese Mystic, p. 13.)

52. A. Giles' translation in his History of Chinese Literature, p. 62.

leaves of the same book---and we are forced to concede to the poets that life is a long dream."[53]

Now let us compare Chung-tze's dream with that of Confucius. Confucius dreamed perhaps but little; he only once lamented that he did not dream any more about Chow Kung, a great statesman and social reformer of the 12th century B. C. Clearly Confucius' interest lies in the outside; he dreamed of the past, but his dreams involved particularly men of action. Chuang-tze was just the reverse. He blamed Confucius for trying to revive the dead ashes of the past and "make the custom of Chow succeed in Lu." This, he says, is like "pushing a boat on land, great trouble and no result, except certain injury to oneself." There must be no blind and rigid adherence to custom and tradition, no unreasonable worship of antiquity. "Dress up a monkey in the robes of Chow Kung, and it will not be happy until they are torn to shreds, "The difference between the past and the present, "he adds bitterly, "is much the same as the difference between Chow Kung and a monkey."[54] To this Dr. L. Giles remarks: "Plainly the inactivity he preached, hard though it be to fathom and harder still to compass, was something very different from stagnation. It was a lesson China needed; well for her in

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53. The World as Will and Idea, Bk. I. 5.

54. Lionel Giles: Musing of a Chinese Mystic, p.23.

these later days if she had taken it more to heart."[55]

According to Dr. Jung, however, introvert patients live more or less in a world which in truth belongs to the past.[56] The material content of the psychic world is composed of reminiscence, giving it a vividness of activity which in reality long since ceased to pertain thereto. They are concerned with matters, and fight with difficulties, which should long have lost importance for them. This seems to be exactly what Confucius or the Chinese nation as a whole did. It is not necessary to dwell upon the reason why Confucius emphasized the past, but we need only to note that he is not a pure extrovert, but extroverted-introvert, if so you like to call him. Both Lao-tze and his disciples are radical in their views, because they were unable to adjust themselves to the rigid tradition and custom, and even to the moral ideas of their days; they became disgusted with the artificiality of civilization, and created an ideal world themselves, a world in which life should return to nature, to live and let live. "The movement of Tao," thus says Lao-tze, "is retrogression." With the Taoist then, the tendency to regress is by no means less significant than with the Confucianist; the only difference is that the former would go back to the simplicity

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55. Lionel Giles, Musings of a Chinese Mystic, p. 24.

56. Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. I, p. 159.

of the primitive, the latter to the glory of the bygone ages. This is why Lao-tze and his school, in spite of their severe attacks on traditions and creeds, did not succeed in saving China from indulging in the reverie of the past.

Nevertheless, the Taoist spirit of individualism and free imagination has inspired generations of poets and artists. The Confucian ideal with its symmetry and balance born of dualism, and with its formalism and repose, the result of the instinctive subordination of the part to the whole, was necessarily restrictive of the freedom of art. Had the Taoist mind not imparted to art its playful imagination, and had Buddhism not come later to lift it up to the expression of lofty ideals, it would have always been enchained in the service of ethics and gradually become industrial and decorative.

The difference between Northern and Southern art, especially in painting, is obvious; the characteristic of the northern school is a certain virile sternness, that of the southern school, delicate refinement; the north tends toward classical and ethical effects, while the south possesses mystic and romantic qualities. Compared with art in Europe, as described by Dr. McDougall, the case in China seems to be reversed.[57] The reasons for these differences

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57 Is America Safe for Democracy?, pp. 73-76.

will become clear when we note that the character of the southern Chinese is as different from that of the northern Chinese as the character of the Germans is different from that of the Italians. In other words, the southern Chinese are more introverted, the northern extroverted, which seems to be just the reverse of the racial characteristic in Europe.

Not only do Taoism and art reveal to us the introvert traits of the Southern Chinese, poetry perhaps gives us the best evidence. Poets around the Yangtze valley often show the inclination of withdrawal from the world, occupying themselves with poesy and wine and with consolation of Buddhist and Taoist ideals of life. Wang Wei's lines on bidding adieu to Meng Hao-jun, when the latter was seeking refuge on the mountain, serve well as an example.

Dismounted, o'er wine
we had said our last say:
Then I whisper, 'Dear friend,
tell me, whither away?'
'Alas!' he replied,
'I am sick of life's ills,
And I long for repose
on the slumbering hills.
But oh seek not to pierce
where my footsteps may stray:
The white clouds will soothe me
for ever and ay.' 58

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58. Wang Wei is the famous Buddhist poet and physician who flourished in A.D. 699-759. Miss E. S. Lester says of him: "He was the great poet painter---originator of black and white painting, the gentleman's art; the father of the Southern School. Of all T'an artists, he offers the most complicated organism to the psycho-analysis. His mind and work are more dreamy and visionary and more impregnated

To the extrovert, the introvert sometimes seems to be a mysterious being; he "hides everything because he dreads the exposure of his emotions." On the other hand, the extrovert appears to the introvert as the one who could never understand the thought and feeling which he cherishes. So Li Po (A.D. 705-762), the divine poet of China, says:

> "You ask what my soul does away in the sky,
> I inwardly smile but I cannot reply;
> Like the peach-blossoms carried away by the stream,
> I soar to a world of which you cannot dream."[58]

The aim of an introvert is to find means for extroversion, and thus he may seek freedom for his soul by trying to enter into harmony with his environment. We find this trait most clearly in the philosophy of Ssu Kung Tu (834-908), who holds that whatever senses we possess may be used as a means of escape from the prison of personality into the boundless freedom of the spiritual world. He said:[59]

> "I revel in flowers without let,
> An atom at random in space;
> My soul dwells in regions ethereal,
> And the world is my dreaming-place
>
> "As the tops of the ocean I tower
> As the winds of the air spreading wide,
> I am 'stablished in might and dominion and power,
> With the universe ranged at my side.

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with a symbolic mysticism than others." (In Arts and Art Crafts of Ancient China, p. 28). This shows clearly the introversion of Wang Wei. Meng Hao-jun (A.D. 689-740) became a poet of the first rank in his later life.

58. H. A. Giles: Op.cit., p. 256.
59. L. Canmer-Byng: A Lute of Jade, p. 106.

"Before me the sun, moon, and stars,
Behind me the phoenix doth clang:
In the morning I lash my leviathans,
And I bathe my feet in Fusang."

Now if neither the withdrawal from reality nor the means for extroversion is accomplished or satisfied, the further course may result in suicide. As shown by Dr. McDougall, the relative frequency of suicide in Europe corresponds closely with the distribution of the Nordic, who, as we know, is constitutionally introvert. This also seems to be the case with the Chinese.[60] Foreign observers are sometimes astounded by the prevailence of suicide in China, especially the ancient and not infrequent custom of killing oneself after an insult. Several explanations of this have been made; among others, the superstition that the ghost would haunt the enemy, that the Chinese do not value life and die easily, that there is little sense of individualism, and so on. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is that when one is a Chinese gentleman and has been insulted tradition prevents the possibility of revenge by laying hold of the offender, and so like a child rending its own clothes and bitting its own flesh

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60. Porteus cites the report of the Immigration Board of Hawaii that the Chinese "apart from considerable disposition to hang themselves", were eminently satisfactory as workers. Porteus explains that this was due to the fact that they were under the too-stimulating overseer. It seems to me that the tendency of the introvert to suicide is a better explanation. This coolie class came from southern China. (S. D. Porteus and M. E. Babcock, Temperament and Race, p. 37.)

in futile anger, emotion turns upon the man himself. Now if we know that the Chinese is by nature an introvert, especially in the south, the case then is clear, for "the introvert tends to brood over his difficulties."[61] This may be well illustrated by the classical incident of the drowning of Chu Yuan, a high minded statesman and poet who lived in the feudal period in the 4th century B. C. It may be that those were the days when loyal patriots believed in the duty of suicide as a moral protest — a suitable "remonstrance against shameless conduct on the part of one's lord", imperative when all other means of persuasion had been tried in vain, but it is more clearly due to the fact that Chu Yuan like other poets in the south is by nature an introvert. When one reads carefully the famous poem Li Sao[62] composed by him before he jumped into Mi-lo, one cannot but be impressed by his intense feeling of distress and the symptom of the internal conflict of the emotions which are characteristics of the introvert.

Incidents like this are numerous, we need only give one more illustration, the case of Li Po. That he was drowned in the river, as he attempted, while drunken,

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61. W. McDougall, Is America Safe for Democracy?, p.98.

62. French translation of Li-Sao: Poeme traduit du Chinois par le Marquis d'Hervey-Saint- Denys. Paris, 1870. English translation and notes by J. Legge, 1875. The latest translation of Li-Sao into English is rendered by Dr. Lim Boon King, 1930, Commercial Press, Shanghai.

to embrace the reflection of the moon in the water is probably a legend, but there is no doubt that he showed a distinct inclination toward suicide and had for a long time contemplated it. Now we will let him say:

"I think of the great poets who are no more. Their verses dwell in my memory, and I say to myself that I, too, could write sublime poems if I could sail up to the sky among the stars.

"It is in vain that I drink to drown my bitterness. Down here, when life and our desires are not in harmony, one must, like thee, cast one's self into a boat, and with hair loosened to the wind, give one's self up to the sea."[63]

The following lines he had indited just before his death show even more clearly his vague distress and his longing for the company of the moon.

"An arbour of flowers,
   and a kettle of wine:
Alas! in the bowers
   no companion is mine.
The moon sheds her rays
   on my goblet and me,
And my shadow betrays
   we're a party of three.

"Though the moon cannot swallow
   her share of the grog,
And my shadow must follow
   wherever I jog,---

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63. La Flute de Jade: Poesie Chinoise. English translation by G. L. Joerissen, p. 110.

Yet their friendship I'll borrow
  and gaily carouse,
And laugh away sorrow
  while spring-time allows.

"See the moon,---how she glances
  response to my song;
See my shadow,---it dances
  so lightly along!
While sober I feel,
  You are both my good friends;
When drunken I reel,
  our companionship ends.
But we'll soon have a greeting
  without a good-bye,
At our next merry meeting
  away in the sky."[64]

The effect of alcohol on the introvert, another significant point brought out by Dr. McDougall,[65] may also be applied to the Chinese. The introvert, as we have said above, often feels the urge for extroversion. A sufficiently large dose of alcohol may make him become markedly extroverted. "---It lifts from him the burden of his introspective reflection and lets him live freely in and for the moment."[66] It enables him to give free expression to his emotion and to talk freely. If he is a poet, exquisite verses may glide smoothly from his pen. Thus Tu Fu had written of his brother poet:

"As for Li Po, give him a jugful of wine,
And he will write a hundred poems."

To this, Li Po often answered with reasons that

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64. Giles' translation, A History of Chinese Literature p. 153-154.

65. Outline of Abnormal Psychology, pp. 442-444.

66. Op.cit., p. 443.

would explain his habits of intoxication, and this is exactly what a pure introvert would sometimes do, for he would show an outer air of self-appreciation, though his general tendency may lie in the direction of self-depreciation. So he tells us:

> "If heaven loved not the wine,
> A Wine Star would not be in heaven;
> If earth loved not the wine,
> The Wine Spring would not be on the earth.
> Since heaven and earth love the wine,
> Need a tippling mortal be ashamed?
> The transparent wine, I hear,
> Has the soothing virtue of a sage,
> While the turgid is rich, they say,
> As the fertile mind of the wise.
> Both the sage and the wise were drinkers,
> Why seek for peers among gods and goblins?
> Three cups open the grand door to bliss;
> Take a jugful, the universe is yours.
> Such is the rapture of the wine,
> That the sober shall never inherit."[67]

We see in Fu Yi's epitaph of himself and Wand Chi's account of the "Drunk-Land" the inclination of introverts for alcoholic intoxication, and numerous other incidents can be multiplied. They all seem to point to the fact that most of the Southern poets shows prominent introvert traits, and that the more markedly introverted they are, the stronger their tendency toward intoxication. Alcohol, besides making an introvert less inhibited in action and expression, possesses also the charm of the waters of Lethe;

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67. Obata's translation, Li Po, the Chinese poet, p. 83.

that is, it relieves him temporarily from his anxieties and griefs. Thus he would probably say:

"Here is wine, let us sing;
For man's life is short,
Like the morning dew,
Its best days gone by.
But though we would rejoice,
Sorrows are hard to forget,
What will make us forget them?
Wine, and only wine."[68]

It would be wrong to say that northern poets have no inclination for wine, but certainly none of them has ever shown to have such a capacity for liquor as Li Po or Wang Chi. By all consent the greatest figure of the north about the time of Li Po is Han Yu, who was not only a poet but a statesman of the first rank. As regards drinking Dr. Giles says:[69]

"Of course the majestic figure of Han Wen-kung, the Prince of Literature, will be found on the side of moderation and restraint. Though not an abstainer himself, his writing will be searched in vain for anything like encouragement of actual drunkeness."

Moreover, his poetry never equals that of Li Po or other great masters of the south, but his prose is of the very highest order. His essays charm us by his freedom of expression; his attack on Buddhism, his eulogy to his dead friend, his denunciatory ultimatum addressed to crocodiles

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68. A poem by Tso Tso.

69. Adversaria Sinica p. 255.

and his beautiful lines on sparing the lives of insects—all these show his frankness, his humane nature and his quick sympathetic response.

Tu Fu (A.D. 712-770), another northern poet, forms with Han Yu and Li Po the triumvirate of genius. All three led stormy lives, but unlike Li Po the two northern poets remained "cheerful, active, and interested in the world." Tu Fu writes:[69]

> "The butterfly flutters flowers to flowers,
> The dragon-fly sips and springs lightly away,
> Each creature is merry its brief little hour,
> So let us enjoy our short life while we may."

The extrovert strives to manipulate his environment, goes forthwith to the object and feels himself into it. He is active and statesmanlike, sociable and sympathetic. If he loses one job he will try to secure another, and this is exactly what Tu Fu did. If the extrovert's position is a poor one he will make the best of it, and this is just what Han Yu did.

If we turn from the profane to the sacred side of Chinese life, that is, to their religions, the same contrast is to be found. Like Taoism, Buddhism has a stronger hold in the south than in the north. Both the north and the south accept Mahayana, but Mahayana in the north, especially around and in Peking, shares certain features of Lamaism and resembles in many ways Roman Catholic Christianity. L'Abbe Huc says: "The cross, the miter, the dalmatica, the cope which the lamas wear on

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69. Giles, H. A.: A History of Chinese Literature, p.156.

their journeys or when performing some ceremony out of the temple, the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer suspended from five chains,--- the rosary, ecclesiastical celibacy, spiritual retirement, worship of the saints; the fasts, processions, litanies, and holy water,---all these are analogies between ourselves and Buddhists."[70] There is not only similarity between their rites, but their doctrine as well. "Both faiths teach the doctrine of purgatory from which souls can be released by the prayers of the priests, Both conduct their service in a dead language, and both claim the power to work miracles. The doctrine of perpetual virginity of Maya, the mother of Sakyamuni, is taught by the Mongol Buddhist, very similar to the teaching concerning Mary by the Roman Catholics."[71]

Now, let us note Mahayana in the South. The Chan sect, for instance, emphasizes meditation and the quality of inwardness as the most important fulfilment of the Buddhist injunctions. Opposed to the study of writings and outward rituals, special stress is laid upon the understanding of the inner being of Buddha. This is based on the philosophy of the "emptying of conciousness"--- that is to say, the complete subjectivity of our human

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70. Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China during the year 1844. 5-6. Trans. from French by W. Hazlitt.

71. J. W. Bashford, China, an Interpretation, pp. 246-247.

conception and impressions.

To be sure, Bodhidharma founded his contemplative school in the North, but his legitimate Chinese successor is not a northern monk, but an uneducated peasant who came from the South. The differences between the attitude of Shin-sieu, an intelligent and favorite disciple of the fifth Buddhist Patriarch in China, and that of Hwai-neng, a plain southern layman, are so great that the school finally split into North and South. Dr. Edkins cites the following verses and says that there was no difference sufficient to cause the division.[72] Shin-sieu expounded his doctrine like this:

> "The body is like the knowledge tree,
> The mind is like a mirror on its stand,
> It should be constantly and carefully brushed,
> Lest dust should be attracted to it."

But Hwai-neng opposed it with vehemence and wrote his view in verses:

> "There is no such thing as a knowledge tree,
> There is no such thing as a mirror-stand,
> There is nothing that has a real existence,
> Then how can dust be attracted?"

No doubt, there is something in common between the two, and that is the view that the attainment of the state of Buddhahood is only to be accomplished by the mind itself. "This mind has neither beginning nor end, color nor form. To look outward is to be a common man. To look

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72. J. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, pp. 160-162.

inward is to be Buddha. In reality man is the same thing as Buddha."[73] But is there really no essential difference between the two? Certainly Shin-Sieu appears not only practical, giving attention to the heart, but real and objective, body being conceived as resembling a Bodhi-tree, and mind a mirror on its stand. Constantly and carefully to brush is to emphasize activity, and to wipe away the mind-dust is to avoid stain made on the mind, which is like a "tabula-rasa", to use Locke's terms. Hwai-Neng shows a distinctly speculative tendency---denying everything external to the mind. The universe exists only in the mind, and the mind is not something that resembles the external object. It is the inwardness, the subjectivity that is important. This view is not far from the Berklian idealism which ~~has~~ started a troublous current of philosophic speculation in the West. Can we then say with Dr. Edkins that there is no real difference or no ground of controversy between the two? The difference is clearly due to temperament: Shin-sieu being a northerner is more extroverted, while Hwai-neng, a southerner, more introverted. A careful analysis of the two personalities will bring out many interesting contrasts of temperament

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73. Ibid., p. 246.

but we shall not go into it.[74]

As we have already mentioned, Buddhism in the north, especially Lamaism, resembles closely Roman Catholic Christianity. If we examine the statistics of the distribution of the Christian faith in China, again the facts seem to support our argument.[75] The Catholic Church has more adherents in the north than in the south, while the largest number of Protestant converts is found in the south. After all due allowances are given to historical and geographical factors there still remains a temperamental factor for consideration. No one would deny the fact that the authority and rituals of Catholicism appeal to the northern mind, while the freedom and individuality of the Protestant are more congenial with the spirit of the south. This seems to correlate inversely with what we find in Europe so far as geographical division is concerned.[76]

One writer says: "The northern Chinese are, as a whole, tall and strong, well-built and fearless, daring and straight-for-ward. ---On the other hand, the inhabitants

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74. A very interesting account of these two monks is found in the Biography of Eminet Buddhists, (Chinese) and also The Sermon of the Sixth Patriarch (Chinese).

75. China Year Book (1928) 497; Also Chinese Church and National Christian Council, pp. 87-88.

76. Is America Safe for Democracy?, p. 101.

in the south are more or less weaker people.--- They are more gentle and delicate than people in the north."[77] True, the southerners are weak and delicate in physique, but they are more independent and unyielding in spirit. The powerful Mongols who once terrorized Europe and ruled China were driven out by a southern Buddhist monk. The leader of the Tai-ping rebellion against the Manchu Tartars was a reputed adherent of Protestantism in the south. During the Mongol and Manchu conquests the south was the last to surrender, and even at the present time the south is the hardest to govern. The agitation for reform, the revolt against the old regime, the rise of the nationalist movememt---all started in the south. Are these merely historical incidents, or is there a difference in the temperament of the people?

In pathological cases the outcome of morbid self-absorption is seen in dementia praecox, while the trouble of an extrovert takes on the hysteric type. According to Jung, "hysteria is characterized by a centrifugal tendency of the libido, whilst in dementia praecox its tendency is centripetal."[78] In general extreme introversion may bring about a most unsocial personality or an

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77. K. P. Wang, Population in China quoted in Josem's China, Today and Yesterday, p. 42.

78. Quoted by W. McDougall in his The Chemical Theory of Temperament applied to introversion and extroversion, Journ. of Abn., pp. 297.

egoist; extreme extroversion a superficial personality or a social enthusiast. It is interesting to note that we have two such extreme types of personality in ancient China, which again seem to justify our classification: one represented by Yang Chu who advocated ethical egoism in the south and the other represented by Moh-tze (500 B.C.) who preached the gospel of universal love in the north.

Yang Chu would not part with a hair of his body for the benefit of others. This, however, must not be taken as selfishness. According to him, "the primary and the only gift of man is his individuality. That is all that he inherits and with him it perishes. It is for him to preserve this single gift to the ultimate moment, neither striving to exceed nor to renounce. All those things that ministered to this development of individuality are good, all those things that have warped or retarded it are bad, whether they be virtue, the desire for fame, for power, for regulating the affairs of others, or the regulation of one's own conduct in conformity with the views of others."[79] To him self-sacrifice is simply the corollary of a wrong and unbalanced condition of life. In a country where neither fame nor self-glorification at the expense of others is desired, self-sacrifice would not exist. It would be unnecessary. Hence, he says "As

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79. A. Forke: Yang Chu's Pleasure Garden, p. 14.

nobody would damage even a hair, and nobody would do a favour to the world, the world would be in a perfect state."[80]

It has been pointed out that "selfishness is not living as one wishes to live, it is asking others to live as one wishes to live. And unselfishness is letting other people's lives alone, not interfering with them."[81] True egoism is essentially unselfish. When help or assistance is necessary, "we may give the feverish rest, satiety to the hungry, warmth to the cold and assistance to the miserable", but we ourselves must be content to live our own lives, to discover for ourselves the ultimate methods of expression for which our lives and natures are most suited.[82]

Contrary to this teaching is that of Moh-tze, a compatriot of Confucius and perhaps one of the greatest souls China has ever produced. He believes in the existence of a personal God, and his teaching and spirit are in many ways similar to those of Christ. His basic tenet is the doctrine of the Will of Heaven which is "Love all." He says:[83]

"God desires man to love and benefit each other,

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80. A. Forke: Yang Chu's Pleasure Garden, p. 22.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. The work of Moh-tze, Chap. IV, 3.

and does not desire men to hate and hurt one another. How do I know it is so? Because God himself loves all and benefits all. How do I know that God loves all and benefits all? Because He creates and nourishes all."

In answering to the question how this principle is to be carried out, Moh-tze comes close to one of the fundamental teachings of Christ,---"Love thy neighbour as thyself."

"How shall we accomplish our principle of mutual love and reciprocal helpfulness? I answer, "Consider another's country as your own country. Consider another's family as your own family. Consider another's person as your own person."[84]

The doctrine of love naturally leads to the doctrine of activity. If we love, we must serve, we must do for others. Once an old acquaintance of his said to him: "The whole world is not practicing righteousness. Why should you alone deny yourself so much to practice it? It is better for you to stop!" To this he replied:

"If there is a man who has ten sons and only one of them farms while the other nine are given to indolence, must not the one son who farms work all the harder? Why? Because the number of the people who eat is many, and the number of the people who farm is small. Now, when

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84. The work of Moh-tze, Chap. XV, 8.

the world is not practicing righteousness you should urge me to practice harder. Why should you stop me?"[85]

It is quite obvious that his feeling passed readily into action and he responded to what was going on around him with great ease. He journeyed at one time for ten days and ten nights in order to persuade the ruler of one state to stop his preparation for an attack upon another;[86] he followed the example of Yu the Great and worked so hard for the benefit of others that not a hair was left on his shanks.[87] As a system of thought, his philosophy has much in common with Utilitarianism and Pragmatism, with which extroverts are much more at home, and to which we shall come back later. It has been said that the extrovert "is no philosopher, arguing why and wherefore---he acts on the spur of the moment," but Moh-tze is an exception.

Between these two extreme types of personalities Confucianists seem to possess a moderate degree of extro-introverted factors and stand in the middle path. In fact Confucius recognized the constitutional differences between the north and the south, and he deliberately advised choosing the Mean. Once his disciple Tsze-lu asked about

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85. The work of Moh-tze, Chap. XLVII, 12.

86. Ibid., Chap. 50.

87. Chuang-tze, Works, p. 33.

energy. He replied:

"Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself?

"To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct:---this is the energy of Southern regions, and a good man makes it his study.

"To lie under arms; and meet death without regret:---this is the energy of Northern regions, and the forceful make it their study.

"Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak---how firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side. How firm is he in his energy!---"[88]

The energy of the north and the south, according to Confucius flows in different channels; hence they produce two different types of personality, the good and the forceful, or to use Jame's terms the "tender minded" and "tough minded". When the two types are united in marriage they may effect an ideal union, so he holds that the superior man should cultivate a friendly harmony, without being weak. As Dr. Jung has pointed out, "not

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88. The Doctrine of The Mean, Chap. X., Legge's translation.

only in the history of mind in general, but in that of single individuals, there appears this opposition of types. It has indeed come to light in recent investigation that either type has a predilection to marry its opposite, the two types being unconsciously complementary to one another. ---So long as the two partners in the union are wholly concerned with adaptation to the manifold external needs of life, their rapport is excellent."[89]

In ethical application Confucius' idea of Mean is very similar to that of Aristotle. Every habit or action may err by excess or defect; between these opposite extremes (e.g. θρασύτης and δειλία) stands that degree of activity which characterizes virtuous conduct (ἀνδρεία).[90] To both Confucius and Aristotle this conception involves that of an adaptation or harmony of agent, act, and environment, similar to the harmony of parts displayed in a work of art; in fact it expresses the aesthetic aspect of virtue.[91] But it is in the conception of the inner harmony of man in whom the real or thinking self is supreme

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89. Two Essays on Analytical Psychology, p. 53. After reading Dr. Jung's essays and Tsze Ssu's Doctrine of Mean I was surprised to find the similarity of the teachings between the two, and it seems strange that Dr. Jung, instead of selecting Confucius' Mean, chose the Middle Path of Lao-tze, or Tao which as already said is for Lao-tze not the Middle path. In fact through out the whole treatise Lao-tze did not even use the word "middle".

90. Nic. Eth. Chap. VI, II.

91. J. A. Stewart notes on the Nic. Eth. II. 208.

that the two philosophers agree most closely.[92]

The psychological interpretation of Confucius' doctrine of Mean is found in the work composed by his grandson, Tsze Ssu, which, however, is more exactly rendered as "Equilibrium and Harmony". The Treatise commences with these axioms:

"Man has received his nature from Heaven. Conduct in accordance with that nature constitutes what is right and true,---is a pursuing of the proper path. The cultivation or regulation of that path is what is called instruction."[93]

It is clear that according to Tsze Ssu all human conduct proceeds from man's innate nature along a certain course, and the cultivation or regulation of that course is the work of education. From such an introduction the writer goes on to unfold the various principles of duty, derived from analysis of man's moral constitution. He says:

"While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of EQUILIBRIUM. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, and there ensues what may be called the state of HARMONY. This equilibrium is

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92. Nic. Eth. Chap. IX, 4.

93. The Doctrine of Mean, Chap. I, 1.

the root from which grow all human actings in the world, and this harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue."[94]

These passages are so clear that there is no need of exposition. But we need only say that according to Tsze Ssu the normal healthy life is a process of striving to maintain the state of an inner equilibrium when there is no emotional excitement, and that of outer harmony when emotions are excited and expressed in activity. We now know that the breakdown of this inner equilibrium is the cause of all mental troubles. Whether in Cyclothymes or Shisothymes we see the disharmony of emotional responses, the loss of personal rapport, and other symptoms of disorder, characteristics of the unbalanced affective state.

The attainment of this state of equilibrium and harmony is within the reach of every man. "Common men and women, however ignorant", he says, "may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its upmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however, much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its upmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry it into practice."[95] An ordinary man must possess a

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94. Ibid., Chap. I.

95. Ibid., Chap. XII.

certain degree of integration so that environmental conditions would excite the proper stimulation of muscles and endocrines to produce correct combinations of ideas and emotions, but the point of perfect equilibrium and harmony is an infinite one, ever going upward, and even the sage may fail to reach it.

In short, according to Confucius the way of the superior man is that within himself there is poise and balance, and in his social relations there is order and concord. In order to attain this he recommends three things: poetry, rules of propriety, and music.[96] From music especially Confucius expects to bring about a rhythm of life; he sees in it not only the soothing and harmonizing effects on individuals, but the essential instrument in government. To an extrovert like Moh-tze such an idea is absurd;[97] to an introvert like Lao-tze it is pernicious,[98] but to Confucius music is the art of life at its highest level. There are some who will recall in the life of Confucius, not only the several dialogues in which he dwells lovingly on its beauty, but also the stories of his choosing to fast, rather than forgo the hearing of music, of his following a child on one occasion

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96. Conf. Analects Bk. VIII, viii.

97. Moh-tze: Works, Chap. XL.

98. Tao Te King, Chap. XII. 12.

who was beating an earthen pot, simply for the pleasure of watching the effect of the rhythm on the people, and finally of his journey to hear the ancient chants which were there extant, handed down from ancient time.

One can easily see the psychological effects of such cultural elements as poetry and music and the rules of propriety: how they have refined the Chinese character; how they have influenced their attitude toward war and education; how they have shaped their views toward life; and above all how they have affected their temperament and emotions. In short, stability and moderation rather than progress constitutes the goal of culture toward which the whole conative energy should be directed.

The victory of Confucius' doctrine of the Mean over the extreme doctrines of both Yang Chu and Moh-tze does not necessarily imply the superiority of his teaching, but it does imply that his teaching is more congenial to the Chinese temperament. On the other hand, Lao-tze's philosophy though retiring to the background has come to the fore from time to time as a rival of Confucianism. In other words the philosophies of Confucius and Lao-tze, the foundation of Chinese culture, are but the result of temperamental factors, for it has already been shown that the Chinese as a race stand intermediate between two extremes, though showing inclination toward the introverted side.

Chinese history seems to indicate that the whole cultural tendency is an unceasing oscillation about an equilibrium point, departure from which tends of itself to set up processes which take it back again.[99] Though there occured from time to time reactions against Confucianism, yet Confucianism always returned to power with increasing strength. Thus the acceptance of Confucius' doctrine has enhanced the homogeneity of the Chinese mind, conventionalized the mode of living and thinking to conform to a classical model set up in Chinese classics and history. This explains the general uniformity of culture throughout the country.

It is due to the reconciling effect of Confucianism that China has been bound together and sooner or later has turned into Chinamen all alien elements, whether they were intrusive conquerors or primitive folk, that

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99. The most drastic measure against Confucianism was carried out by the First Emperor of the Chin dynasty (255-206 B.C.), who destroyed all Confucian works, save the calendar, divination, medicine and agriculture. The destruction was great; 460 opposing scholars suffered death, it is said by being buried alive. To this dynasty however, China owes the Great Wall, and the name "China", her designation in the West. The reign lasted only 80 years. The Mongol emperor Kublai Khan conducted a similar campaign against Taoism, ordering all books of the sect to be destroyed, excepting only the Tao Te King. His powerful reign did not last more than 88 years. Through this dynasty, however, the Chinese acquired the racial name, "Mongolian". Modern anthropologists, like Dixon, Buxton and others have pointed out the fallacy of the term, "Mongolian". Nor is the term "China" a good designation of that country, Her own name, the "Middle Kingdom" seems to be a better term, which indicates the moderate temperament of her people.

came to be included within the limits of the realm.[100] But it is also due to this reconciling effect that there has developed the spirit of compromise, which is in part responsible for both the stabilization and stagnation of Chinese culture.[101] The avoidance of extremes has perhaps produced a happy mediocrity in all things relating to external life that has safely carried China through the long ages, but it has also suppressed genius or more radical thinkers on whom the advancement of culture depends.[102]

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100. Mr. J. W. Slaughter says: "Here, therefore, is a people in which some ground-work of unity is unmistakably deep and durable. It is not race, it is not patriotism or political organization.---What then holds these people together? It is partly the universality of usage in respect to the immediate relationships. It is also the acceptance of a certain kind of teaching about these relationships. Community of conduct and community of belief about conduct, provide at least a condition favorable to social cohesion." (East and West in China, p. 153-154.) The most important teaching that deals with relationships is of course Confucius' doctrine of the Mean.

101. "The Chinese" says Bertrand Russell, "remind one of the English in their love of compromise and in their habit of bowing to public opinion. Seldom is a conflict pushed to brutal issue." (op.cit., p. 216.)

102. In making a comparison of the Mongolian and Semitic culture Mr. G. Heard says: of the Chinese: "Never developing the extremes; ---following Confucius, though able to appreciate Lao-tze; they may be said to have poised for some seventy generations between the life of Amenophis III and that of Akhnaton. In consequence they have been able, clearly realizing their purpose, both to fence off an immense area of fertility and also to preserve a continuity of civilization only to be compared with Egypt. ---In consequence they have generated a culture which has been able not only to hold them together for aeons but completely to assimilate any intrusions; they have made perhaps the most successful compromise with life, and until this day the

It remains to be shown, however, how all the stabilizing agencies have worked together to attain and preserve the definite goal of Chinese culture. This is to be taken up in the next chapter.

Sphinx has avoided their quiet but spacious path." (The Ascent of Humanity, p. 111-112). But there is another side of the story. A short quotation from a Chinese writer shows its effect on Chinese mind. "If the West produced a Newton it also brought forth a Napoleon, and methinks the world could have got along happily enough without either of them. ---It is upon Mediocrity that humanity depends for slow, and sure advancement. It is neither the very high, nor the very low, but the middle class who are the 'pillars of society' in the West" (Civilization, By a Man of Han, 1860, Hongkong). Not genius, but Mediocrity, not progress, but "to get along happily" is all that they want!

CHAPTER IV

THE PLACE OF SYMBOLISM AND SENTIMENT IN CHINESE CULTURE

In the last two chapters we have shown how the interplay of certain innate qualities leads to the formation of the cultural pattern of a given people, which in the case of the Chinese, we call humanistic culture. Then we indicated the chief racial components of the north and south, and their characteristic temperamental traits, and showed how the interaction of temperaments led to the acceptance of Confucius' doctrine of the Mean, which doctrine has directed the whole tendency of the Chinese culture toward stability and moderation rather than progress. In the present discussion we attempt to show how this stabilizing tendency has been at work, and to indicate its relation to the formation of that most essential factor in culture, the sentiment.

As a method of approach we have chosen an analysis of symbolism with a view to disclosure of the motives that lie behind it and the sentiments that weave around it. The term, symbol, has now acquired a special and technical significance; the original Greek word, σύμβολον, which means 'sign' is not sufficient to convey its meaning. Schlessinger[1]

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1. Geschichte des Symbols, p. 15.

has collected some hundreds of different usages and definitions of this word, but for our purpose we need only point out that a symbol must, at one and the same time, possess a double, or, in some instances, a multiple significance.[2] All symbols are signs, but not all signs are symbols. Both of them touch the mind, but in different ways. The symbol is metaphorical---the sign is actual: the symbol implies something abstract---the sign reminds one of something that has happened or that is true. "A symbol may thus be characterized as a sign which carries, at one and the same time, a double or multiple significance, one part of what is indicated being obvious, and constituting the 'face value' of the symbol, and another part producing an effect without being definitely or purposely attended to, this part constituting the 'hidden value' of the symbol".[3]

Symbolism has been studied from several angles: firstly, it has been used to account for diffusion of culture, to indicate how symbols have traveled from one group to another;[4] secondly, it has served to interpret deep-seated needs or desires of the group as expressed in the

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2. F. C. Bartlett, Symbolism in Folk-Lore, in the Proceedings of the International Congress of Psychology, 1923, p. 278.

3. Ibid.

4. Elliot Smith, Perry, Mackenzie and other anthropologists.

the dream of an individual;[5] thirdly, it has been taken as the basis of the theory of 'Archetypes' which are held by Jung to be formed out of the "collective unconscious" that influences all our thinking and conduct;[6] fourthly, it has been studied from the standpoint of its mechanism and function, and in its relation to myth and folklore.[7] Without committing ourselves to the final theories arrived at by these various approaches we shall have occasion to use the methods in our special analysis in so far as they are practicable.

We propose to make an enquiry into the following forms of Chinese symbolism: namely, (1) number; (2) the dragon and the pheonix, (3) color symbolism, (4) language, (5) rite and music. The symbols listed above are given in order of increasing significance. The first two kinds of symbols are dominent in primitive society and in the early stage of the Chinese culture. Color and language still play a prominent role in all the civilized world. The last, rite and music constitute a very effective psycho-social process. We shall begin by considering the symbolism of number.

At the head of the "Five Classics" is placed the

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5. Freud, Karl Abraham and other psychoanalists.

6. Jung, etc.

7. Bartlett, etc.

Yi King, or "The Book of Change", a work in which Confucius found a symbolic representation of the complexities of change in the universe. Change is a predominant characteristic of all activities; and it is caused by the interplay of the Yang and Ying principles, or the positive and negative. "In modern scientific terms we would call them anabolic and catabolic, the two phases of metabolism or the Yi."[8] Moreover, all the mental and physical processes are dual; every manifestation of life has an opposite. In short, all changes, according to the Yi King, arise from motion, which is produced by the pushing of that which is active against that which is passive.[9]

Such interaction may be represented symbolically by a set of lineal figures consisting of three whole (☰) or divided (☷) lines, from which by doubling and variously combining, sixty-four hexagrams are obtained, and on the other hand, the complexity of change may be ultimately reduced to the elemental line (—). Such a process as this seems to have impressed Confucius in the same way as numbers impressed Pythagoreans[10] and Platonists.

Numbers are a key to the ancient views of cosmogony in its broad sense; the principles governing numbers

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8. Paul Monroe: China, A Nation in Evolution, p. 80.

9. Yi King, Appendix I, Pt.I, 1, 2, 6; Pt.II, 1. The Ten Appendixes is the exposition of Yi King by Confucius, and the word Yi in Chinese means change.

10. Discussing the similarities of mathematical and astronomical systems between China and Rome, the French scholar,

were supposed to be the principle of all Real Existence. To both Pythagoras and Confucius "the universe is a harmonious whole." "The celestial spheres are musical in their motion; they emit melodious sounds as they roll through the abyss." Riters says in his History of ancient Philophy:[11]

"Number or hamony is the ground or principle of all things, and the whole universe is Number or Hamony; and generally Number and Harmony were employed by the Pythagoreans in the same meaning. In this sense then Harmony was to their minds the ground or principle of the unity of all things, and the whole world a Harmony of units or numbers combined together in certain definite relations."

According to Confucius our life-program as a human

M. Hager suggested that Pythagoras ~~has~~ traveled into India, and perhaps as far as China and brought the abacus and numeral systems from China. (Explanation of Elementary Chinese, 1801). "We find also amongst the Chinese, "says Amiot, "all the properties ascribed to numbers by Pythagoras;" and continues he, "as we know that the Chinese were acquainted with them many centuries before the Greek philosopher, it is reasonable to conclude that he derived them from China." (Mem. des Miss. de Peking, Vol. II, p. 193). "Why" asks De Guignes "do both the Chinese and Pythagoreans assert that the number 5 designates nature, and is holden to be the first principle of the universe? Why is the number 9 attributed by the disciples of this philosopher to Vulcan, and by the Chinese to Fire? Why the number 4 to Eolus, and by the Chinese to the Wind? Why, 2 to Rhea, and by the Chinese to the Earth?" Cultural relation between China and Greek has been more and more confirmed, but to say that Pythagoras derived his system from China is but conjectural. The views of these French scholars, however, are quite interesting.

11. Page 36.

being consists essentially in putting ourselves in harmony with the laws of the universe, and that is, the regularity of life, the harmony of inner feelings, and the right relationships with our fellow-men. In the physical world, as well as in the moral and mental world, there operates the law of action and reaction, which produces both revolution and evolution. The ancient Chinese, being entirely given to or dependent upon agriculture, had associated their destinies with the seasons and astronomical phenomena; moreover, many of their customs accord with the natural wish of peasants to see the course of their life directed by immutable and eternal laws, the outcome of Nature's workings. In imitation of the infallible evolution of all things, the Chinese mind believes in a ruling principle which alone can assure perfect order in the universe, and thus avoid troubles and misfortunes. Hence arose the duty to help strongly and to effect in due time the proper operation of active and the passive principles of Yang and Ying, because their want of equilibrium and their rupture cause death. Extinction of life seems to coincide exactly with the dissolution of Ying and Yang, from which two elements living beings are constituted; for on their cohesion and equilibrium life depends. "Ying and Yang has been termed the primordial microbe;" says Dr. Monroe, "and, in fact, the resemblance in diagrammatic form to the biologic germ is most striking. Striking also is the fact that in the primitive philosophy

of this most enduring and stable of all human societies---which is popularly supposed to be hostile to all change---rather than in the changing West,---should be found this fundamental principle of constant change, or revolution, resulting in a creative evolution."[11]

Why this principle of change and others akin to modern scientific notions were not further developed and followed is a question that we shall attempt to answer. This will be considered more fully in a later chapter. But for the present we need only point out that Confucius' strong aversion to metaphysics, his profound reverence for Harmony, and his delight in common-sense philosophy prevented him from going beyond every-day experience or venturing into a realm beyond the interaction of the two contrasting principles in nature; his prosaic intellect always dwelt on things human and mundane and moralized everything that he found around him. Thus all the symbols in the Yi King, as we shall see later, became attached to these sentiments.

A symbol which is found in the myths of all mankind, has been taken to be peculiarly Chinese, is that of the dragon. "An adequate account of the development of the dragon-legend," says Dr. Elliot Smith, "would represent the history of the expression of mankind's aspirations and fears during the past fifty centuries and more. For the

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11. Op.cit., pp. 80-81.

dragon was evolved along with civilization itself."[12] For Freud and his disciples dreams and myths have in common the relation to the unconscious, to the psychic life of childhood, and to sexuality. Both are developed without any consistent and effective "censorship", and both have a tendency to represent the wish as fulfilled. Relating as it does in some ways to the snake or serpent, the Chinese dragon would be taken by Freud as unmistakable phallic symbolism. For, according to him, human sexuality displays a need of expansion far beyond the object of sexual satisfaction, and it may be said that man sexualizes everything. Opposed to the sexual theory of Freud, Elliot Smith holds that the dragon was primarily a personification of the life-giving and life-destroying powers of water and that the desire for the lengthening of life was a strong motive for some of the most striking beliefs and customs of mankind. There developed also the so-called asterial theory, especially among the mythologists in Germany, according to which the motives of all myths and symbols are based on the contemplation of stellar constellation---an intellectual interest. According to them, the process by which the early Chinese arrived at the symbol of the dragon for national and individual power was mainly through their fondness of astronomical observa-

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12. The Evolution of Dragon, p. 76.

tions. They saw the dragon represented by what we call the Scorpian in the brilliant constellation of the eastern sky where every orb of heaven appears to rise.

One may trace the Chinese dragon back to myths such as those describing a dragon-horse that bore eight diagrams to the emperor Fushi (B.C. 2852-2737),[13] or two dragons that presented Yellow Emperor (B.C. 2697-2597)[14] with a scroll, or a dragon-horse with red lines on a green ground that ascended the altar when Yao (B.C. 2357-2258) was on the throne,[15] or again two dragons that took the boat on their back when Yu the Great (B.C. 2205-2197) was crossing the river Kiang.[16] In these myths one can only discern a very slight sexual motive. But the interesting thing is the relation of the dragon and the horse, as it has been pointed out by Jung that the horse signifies the living, positive part of the libido, the striving towards continual renewal, whereas the serpent or dragon, as a rule represents the fear, the fear of death, and is thought of as the antithesis to the phallus. "This antithesis between horse and serpent, represents an opposition of the libido within itself,

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13. Elucidation of Historic Annals (資治通鑑綱目); see Chavannes, Memoires historiques de Se Ma-tsien. Annales des trois Souverains. p. 6 (Fouhi).

14. Ibid (Hwangti).

15. Annals of the Bamboo Books (竹書紀). See also Legge's Chines Classics, Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 113. (reign of Yao).

16. Ibid, Legge's Chinese Classics, p. 118.

a striving forwards and a striving backwards at one and the same time."[17]

In the course of the discussion we shall see in the symbol of the dragon the indication of the bi-polarity of psychic phenomena, but let us here consider briefly the sex motive in the dragon symbol. Hannay describes the phallic creative power of the Leviathan in connection with the Chinese dragon.[18] Mackenzie points out the ancient belief of the bride and her serpent lies behind curiously similar verses in such far separated countries as Scotland and China.[19] Dr. M'Cartney shows the significance of dragon in the dreams of his Chinese patient whose troubles may be partly due to the harshness of Chinese sexual restriction

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17. Psychology of the Unconscious, p. 480.

18. J. B. Hanney, Sex Symbolism in Religion, Vol. 2, pp. 167-169.

19. Mackenzie says: "In Gaelic Scotland the serpent, which is associated with the goddess Bride, sleeps all winter and comes forth on 1st February (old style), known as 'Bride's Day'. A Gaelic Verse tells in this connection:

"'The serpent will come from the home
On the brown day of Bride,
Though there should be three feet of snow
On the flat surface of the ground.'
(Carmichael's 'Carmina Gadlica')

"As in China a compact was made with the Bride serpent or dragon:

"'Today is the Day of Bride,
The serpent shall come from his hole,
I will not molest the serpent,
And the serpent will not molest me.'"

The Chinese bride on her wedding day must put on a red robe which is embroidered with dragon designs as is the robe of a king.

or taboos.[20] No doubt the problem of sex is a grave one; the retardation of economic development in China has been ascribed to the old custom of the segregation of the sexes,[21] And such a custom must have originated in primitive society for the prevention of incest or other illicit intercourse.[22] The Chinese suppression of sex may have revealed itself in dragon symbolism. Moderate sexual restriction, however, is necessary for the stability of social order and the development of culture.

It is hard to find justification for Freud's view that the Oedipus complex is the source of culture,[23] but his theory of sublimation, as Dr. McDougall suggests, seems to have thrown light on the development of culture, especially the production of art.[24] Here we may note that great arts and poetry have been inspired by Buddhism and Taoism whose codes of sexual restriction are even stricter than those of Confucianism. Still more interesting is that a favourite of both was the art of dragon-painting which reached its zenith in the 13th century. For them the dragon may probably be the symbol of sex, the expression of the hidden suppressed motive; and their artistic genius may be due to

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20. J. L. M'Cartney, Epilepsy amongst the Chinese: with the analysis of a case, The Psychoanalytic Review, Jan. 1929, Vol. XVI, pp. 16-18.

21. H. C. Chen, The Economic Principles of Confucius and his school, Vol. I, pp. 64-70.

22. Milanosky, Sex in Savage Society, p. See also Li Ki Bk. I pp. 77-78.

23. Totem and Taboos, p.

24. Shall all taboos be abolished? in the Sex in Civilization, edited by Schmalhausen and Calverton.

the sublimation of the sex impulse. Confucius approves of moderate restraint of the sex impulse and the proper expression of love, for love is necessary for family, which is to him the corner-stone of civilization. The first ballad in the book of poetry collected by him is a love song, and he remarked that the Kwan Tsu, the title of the first ballad, is expressive of enjoyment without licentiousness, and of grief without hurtfull excess.[25] Such restraint is indispensable for any stable society, for as Dr. McDougall says, "without sex restraint, no sublimation; and without sublimation, no culture, but rather the pleasant, lazy life of the islanders of Trobriand, of Tahiti, of Hawaii. We may also say and more confidently: no restraint, then no love, but lust."[26]

There lies behind the symbol of the dragon not only the meaning of sexual restriction but also other latent values. The invaluable research into the lore of the Chinese and Japanese dragon by the Dutch scholar, Dr. De Visser, shows that ~~maybe~~ the Chinese dragon's most important function is that of causing rain, and he may be compelled by man to do so through several magical means.[27] Therefore, Mr. Mackenzie links him with the Ayro-Indian

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25. Conf. Annalects, Pt. I, Chap. XX.

26. Op.cit., p. 92.

27. M. W. De Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 233.

god Indra and other rain and thunder gods connected with agriculture including Zeus of Greece, Tarku of Asia Minor, Thor of Northern Europe and Marduck of Babylonia.[28] Dr. Smith goes still further and traces the evolution of the dragon back to the worship of the Great Mother or Giver of Life in Egypt, and insists that the motive underlying the most primitive form of religion, which is preserved in the myth, is an expression of the instinct of self-preservation rather than that of sex, and that the role of the sexual instinct in the development of religion, myth and folk-lore, is not primary but secondary to the craving for a life-giving elixir. According to him the recognition of this unquestionable fact destroys the foundations of the speculation of Freud, Jung, and their followers.[29]

The relation of the dragon symbol to agriculture, or to hunger impulse is certainly closer than to sex. This fabulous animal may well be the product of the imagination of an agricultural people. It is a well-known fact that the continuous struggle for food has made the Chinese expert agriculturists without the aid of science. Both intensive and extensive methods of cultivation have been used. It has also been observed that, whereas there are 20 acres of land for one person in America there is only

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28. D. A. Mackenzie, Myths of China and Japan, p. 12.

29. Op.cit.

one acre for one person in China, and of this one acre, half is arid and unproductive. But severe intensive cultivation has enabled one-sixth of an acre of good land to support a person.[30] Professor E. A. Ross also observed that land was utilized in China as perhaps it had never been elsewhere.[31] To the driving power of the hunger impulse are due the most acute problems of China at present time. The effective operation of Malthusian law and the constant occurance of famine affect the whole life of the people and the development of culture.[32] We do not have to dwell on the importance of the introduction of scientific methods and the adoption of a comprehensive eugenic program. But we see here the powerful impulse that lies deep in the symbol of the dragon. It is not surprising that it soon also partakes of the malign nature of the Indian Nagas, who, according to the original conceptions, had their abode in Patala land, beneath the earth, and could raise clouds and thunder, or appear as themselves clouds to terrify mankind. Northern Buddhism, however, made these frightful beings the rain-giving benefactors of men to whom prayers for rain were sent up in special ceremonies. "The idea of serpent-shaped semi-divine kings,

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30. F. H. King, Farmers of Forty Centuries, p. 144. See also Dr. Wilhelm Wagner's admirable work on Chinese methods of agriculture, Die Chinesische Landwirtschaft.

31. The Changing Chinese, pp. 72-74.

32. See Miss Mabel Lee's Economic History of China, a most exhaustive study of the agricultural problems, economic movements, and the constant occurance of famine in China.

living in great luxury in their magnificent palaces at the bottom of the water, was strange to the Chinese and Japanese minds; but the faculty of these beings of assuming human shapes and bestowing rain upon the thirsty earth, as well as their nature of water-gods, formed the links between the Nagas of India and the dragons of China and Japan".[33] As water destroys, the dragon is a destroyer; as water preserves and sustains, the dragon is a preserver and sustainer.

Here we have two kinds of interpretation of the "hidden value" of the dragon symbol: one stresses the sex, while the other the hunger motive. If we ask which is more fundamental, recent experimental studies in the comparative strength of sex and hunger impulses in animals seems to have given evidence against the all importante of sexual motive. In a series of tests Mr. Moss measured both sex and hunger drives in albino rats, and found that sex was inferior to hunger in driving force.[34] With improved technique and a larger number of subjects Mr. Tsai conducted the same experiment and confirmed Moss' results.[35] When we compare hunger with motives other than sex; such as,

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33. De Visser, op.cit., p. 231.

34. Moss, F. A., Study of Animal Drives, Journ. of Exper. Psych. 1924, 3, 73-145.

35. Chiao Tsai, The relative strength of sex and hunger drives. Journ. of Comp. Psych., 1925, p. 407.

maternal, social, cusiosity, escape and others, all the experimental results again show the superiority of the hunger drive.[36] In his experimental study of hunger and its relation to activity Wada is right when he says that hunger plays an important role in explaining human behaviour.[37] It seems generally true that in the development of the race the chief function of intelligence is to provide for the fundamental biological needs. In all the early civilizations, in Asia, in Africa, in Oceania, and in America, essential cultural elements were the results of the enadeavour to secure satisfaction of the instinct of nutrition. Since a symbol must possess a double or a multiple significance at the same time, the dragon may symbolize both sex and hunger impulses or other hidden values. Thus it has indeed appeared again and again in mythology, art, history and religion.

In the West the dragon seems to symbolize everything that is cruel, terrible, and destructive; in China he is spiritual, beneficial and powerful.[38] But, in our

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36. Simmons E. The Relative Effectiveness of certain incentives in Animal learning. Comp. Psych. Monog. 1924, 2. Serial No. 7. Also Legan, A Comparative study of certain incentives in the Learning of White Rats. Journ. of Comp. Psych.

37. Wada, Tomi, On experimental study of Hunger in its relation to activity. Archives of Psych. 1922, No. 57, 1-65.

38. It is difficult to trace with certainty the origin of so ancient a conception as the sacred dragon of China, but according to some anthropologists that the Chinese mons-

view, this has not always been so. In Rome and Greece, for instance, "the dracontes were also at times conceived as beneficent powers, sharp-eyed dwellers in the inner part of the earth, wise to discover the secrets and utter them in oracles, or powerful to invoke as guardian genii."[39] And Elliot Smith says: "Even in our country this symbolism is not always wholly malevolent, otherwise,---dragons would hardly figure as the supporters of the arms of the city of London, and as the symbol of many of our aristocratic families, among which the Royal House of Tudor is included."[40] On the other hand, his reputation in the East is not always blameless, especially the Nagas, imported from India by the Buddhist priests. In Chinese literature

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ter is the descendant of the early Babylonian water-dragon who controlled the rain supply of that country, as Osiris in Egypt controlled the Nile. Elliot Smith says that in China "the dragon is a beneficient creature, which approximates more nearly to the Babylonian Ea or the Egyptian Osiris. It is not only the controller of water, but the personification of Water and its life-giving powers---In other words, it is the bringer of good luck, the rejuvenator of mankind, the giver of immortality." It seems to me the different conception of dragon is due to the different attitude toward nature between East and West. In the West the attitude of conquering nature is predonminent; dragon must be slain for it akins to Nature "red in tooth and claw" (Tennyson's). In the East the attitude is one of submission and compromise; hence the malign nature still retains in the Indian Naga, and he is worshipped. But in China it is one of compromise, so it is identified with the sage, with the king, with the sky and other both powerful and yet beneficial agencies.

39. Encyclopedia Britanica, 1910 edition, on Dragon.

40. Op.cit., pp. 82-83.

are also found the stories of dragon-slayers, who were not unlike the heroes of the West, such as St. Michael, St. George, or Silvester. But the hero battling with the dragon has much in common with the dragon, and this is true in the Eastern as well as the Western myths.[41] In the Egyptian story, "Destruction of Mankind" all three members of the Trinity were identified not only with the dragon, but also with the hero who was the dragon-slayer.[42] In the dragon myths, are thus represented the pairs of opposites as in the Christ and Anti-Christ of Merezhkovskii's romance, "Leonardo de Vinci" cited by Jung.[43] According to the Chinese the dragon is the active principle of the Ying, or in other words, he is the Yang of the Ying; and Ying and Yang are contradictory and yet complementary. Therefore, in the symbol of the dragon we see the action and reaction of the Ying and Yang principles, the natural process of destruction and formation, the human impulse of hunger and sex, and indeed of all the emotional conflicts of daily life. With the passing of the years the sentiments woven around it grew more and more, and the meaning became richer and richer. This is true also of the Egyptian story of the dragon-conflict. "The whole gamut of human strivings

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41. See Jung's Psychology of Unconscious, pp. 401-403; 410.

42. E. G. Smith, op.cit., pp. 78-81; pp. 104-121.

43. Jung, op.cit., p. 403.

and emotions," says Elliott Smith, "was drawn into the legend until it became the great epic of the human spirit and the main theme that has appealed to the interest of all mankind in every age."[44]

Now, what is Confucius' interpretation of the dragon, mentioned in the first chapter of Yih King? Here we see the dragon representing the sage, or the great personality in whom the sentiments are most harmoniously arranged. We read there the following explanation of the lowest line of the hexagram "Kien"; "the dragon lying hid in the deep---it is not time for active doing." About this line Confucius said:

"In the superior man his conduct is the fruit of his perfected virtue, which might be seen therefore in his daily course; but the force of that phrase, 'lying hid', requires him to keep retired, and not yet show himself, nor proceed to the full development of his course."[45]

About the second line, "the dragon appears in the field", Confucius said:

"The superior man learns and accumulates the results of his learning; puts questions, and discriminates among those results; dwells magnanimously and unambitiously in what he has attained to: and carries it into prac-

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44. Op.cit., p. 81.

45. "Yih King", Appendix IV, Sect. I, Chap. VI, 30.

tice with benevolence."[46]

With the ascending of every line the influence of the personality of the superior man increases, till in the fifth line, he becomes the "flying dragon in heaven," that is, he reaches the climax of self-development. About this line Confucius said:

"The great man is he who is in harmony, in his attributes, with heaven and earth; in his brightness, with the sun and moon; in his orderly proceedure, with the four seasons; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous, in harmony with the spirit-like operation of providence."[47]

"Musical notes of the same kind respond to each other; things of the same kind seek one another. Water flows to the damp; fire rises to the dry. ---When the sage appears, all people of the world fix their eyes on him."[48]

To the primitive agriculturists the rain-bringing dragon rising from its most obscured place, then appearing on the rice field, and finally soaring in the sky is a symbol of utmost benefit to mankind. But Confucius imparted to it ethical and psychological meanings, and made it represent the successive stages of character-formation until

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46. Ibid., Chap. VI. 31.

47. Ibid., Chap. VI. 34.

48. Ibid., Chap V, 27.

it is integrated in a most perfect system of sentiments and activities, which he identified with the regular and harmonious order of the universe.

About the sixth line of the hexagram "the dragon in extreme," Confucius explained:

> "The phrase 'in extreme' refers to him who knows progression, but does not know that progression involves regression. He knows life, but does not know that life involves death. He knows possession, but does not know that possession involves loss. It is only the sage who knows both progression and regression, both life and death, both possession and loss, and thus always maintains the mean. He only is the sage."[49]

Confucius, in whom the Chinese mind is perhaps most typically mirrored, rarely deviates from the plain, normal, and practical path of human life and his eyes are constantly kept on the well-balanced character as in the sage or superior man who "exhibits harmony of all that is right."[50] All the cultural forces, according to him, should aim at the development of this type of personality. Thus in the hands of Confucius the dragon became a symbol of a sage or ideal personality, which should be held as a model before the people. A king then is symbolized by

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49. Ibid., Chap. VI. 36.

50. Ibid., Chap. II, 21.

the dragon since his life is an example that people follow. The Chinese symbol of imperial power thus becomes clear; and moreover, each dynastic family in its origin was like the dragon in rising from a low position to a high one.

Like all symbols the dragon came to be very much bound up with the ornamental side of social life, and to satisfy specific artistic impulses. Contacts with Indian culture enriched its meaning, and made it more fantastic. But it is to the "hidden values" or old interpretations of the symbol that its persistence in Chinese culture is largely due, for the new materials may replace the old; but the sentiments remain, and with them the old interpretations.

In the Li-ki or Book of Rites the dragon, the unicorn, the tortoise, and the phoenix are styled the four marvelous animals, symbolizing the four directions of the universe. At the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-221 A.D.) the zoological symbolism of China had already grown enormously in variety, and was made to serve an artistic purpose in the embroidery of imperial dresses, in the adornment of the walls of the palaces in sculpture and in painting.

Within a short compass it is impossible to survey its influence in the affective life of China. However, an analysis of another symbol, the phoenix,[51] closely allied to the dragon, gives us the same evidence of the desire

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51. The type of this bird seems to be the Angus pheasant, which has been gradually embellished and exagerated

to reconcile the Opposites and to attain the Mean. This bird was the harbinger of prosperous times, when goodness and justice prevail among men, and honeyed words drop from the lips of sages. Confucius once said in distress, "The poenix does not come. The Yellow River sends forth no mystic diagram. All is ended with me. I am without hope." In another part of the Analects a snatch of a song is introduced, which was sung by the mad man of Chu, who saw Confucius passing in his carriage.

> "The Phoenix, the Phoenix,
> Its virtue is decayed.
> As to the past, reproof is useless,
> For the future, it may be provided for.
> Give up your endeavouring,
> Those who now rule the state are in danger
> of calamities."

Here again the phoenix represents the sage or the superior man. It is a bird of the South, of solar essence, symbolizing the vital principle. In the work of Ho Kuan Tsu (4th cent. B.C.) we find that the phoenix is the bird of the asterism (shun-huo), indicating the summer solstice and the climax of the Yang principle. But the asterism was first symbolized by quail, which, as M. L. de Saussure and others have shown, transformed through successive stages into phoenix.[52] It implies the same principle, the evolution of the persona-

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(Williams), while Professor Newton identifies it with the peacock of India (Giles, Sinica Avers. p. 9).

52. System Asterial de Chine, pp. 48-50.

lity of the superior man.

Just as the dragon is the Yang of the Ying, so is the phoenix the Ying of the Yang, for as a bird, the phoenix represent the Ying or female principle, but with the accumulation of solar energy, it becomes the symbol of Yang. Let us first make clear the fact that a bird of solar essence, and the meaning derived therefrom, are not peculiar to China; a bird connected with a solar myth can be traced in the legends of all Indo-Germanic races.[53] We recognize in the phoenix symbol the action and reaction or the mutual relation of the active and passive principles, of the sun and the moon, of the summer and winter solstice. In ancient Chinese cosmology, the sun, being one with the Yang or active principle, origin of life, stands in opposition to the moon, characteristic of night, symbolic of darkness and death. The strife between two principles breaks off at the winter solstice, during the short period when days and nights neither increase nor diminish in length. "During the winter solstice the two principles join together, heaven and earth are united and stand in mutual harmony. ---It is a moment of perfect balance."[54] Hence the

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53. See G. Wilke, Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Indien, Orient und Europe, 1923, Leipzig. It is also interesting to find in China the myth of the bird which descends into the womb of a woman there to change itself into a human being. Such a myth is know in both European and Indian antiquity. It seems to show the invigorating or creating power of the sun.

54. In the funeral chamber of Wu Liang-tzu can be found the figure of a bird with two heads and this is regarded as

phoenix became a symbol of the sage of the superior man, of a balanced mind. In Chinese culture this shows clearly the tendency to humanize everything, making it serve the cultural aim of the development of that type of humanity in which all possibilities of conflict are reduced to a minimum.

Color symbolism presents evidence of the same sort. According to the ancient Chinese the color of the South is red, and that of the East is azure. Thus the dragon, being a sea animal representing the East is azure or blue, while the phoenix, a product of the sun representing the south is red. There were five primary colors, namely; black, red, blue, white, and yellow, designating respectively the color of the four directions of the universe with yellow in the center. Of course the ancient Chinese knew nothing about chromatic and achromatic difference. The signifiance of red is obvious and is still a most popular color with the Chinese, symbolic of joyous emotion, of life and of good luck.

According to Geiger the sensation of red evolved first in human race then yellow and green, and finally blue.[55] The careful investigation of the natives of Torres Straits

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a symbol connected with the season (Charvannes, op.cit., from Chin Shih So).

55. Contributions to the History of the Development of the Human Race, p. 48, cited by J. H. Parson in his Color Vision, p. 145.

and New Guinea by Drs. Rivers, McDougall, and Myers of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition, has shown that at Murry Island, Mabulag, and Kiwai there were definite names for red, less definite for yellow, still less for green, while no definite name for blue could be found.[56] Thus the evolution of the color terminology of these people seems to correspond with Geiger's view, which is based on a study of ancient writings. Similar phenomena may be traced in Europe; the same greater primitiveness, precision, and copiousness of the color vocabulary at the long wave end of the spectrum are found among Europeans as well as among the lowest savages.[57] Various investigations bear out the same interesting results that in every country the words for the color at the red end of the spectrum are of earlier appearance, more definite and more numerous than those at the violet end.[58] According to Dr. McDougall the striking power of red may be due to the fact that many red objects, such as blood, fire, fruit and so forth are of practical importance or essential to life.[59] As we have already said, red is the symbol of the active creating principle and of life, perhaps inseparable in ori-

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56. Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits, II, I, 1901.

57. Havelock Ellis, The Psychology of Red, Popu. Science Mon. Vol. LVII, p. 367.

58. Ibid.

59. Brit. Journ. of Psych. II, 1908, p. 349.

gin from the symbolism of fire and sun. Through being associated with fire it has also come to signify the destructive force, a sign of danger and anarchy. The red flag which is its emblem was used during the French Revolution and also Chinese Revolution, and it is now the emblem of the same force in Russia. All the tints and shades of red partake of the double symbolism of love and hate, either intensified in the darker shades of red, or attenuated in rose and pink. In short, the peculiarly intense emotional tone of red is well-nigh universally recognized, as evidenced by the color words used in both civilized and uncivilized worlds.

Some thirty years ago, Stephenson found among one thousand Chinese examined at various places only one case of color blindness, but a frequent tendency to confuse green and blue, and also blue and purple, while Dr. Adele Filde of Swatow, China, found among 1200 Chinese of both sexes examined by Thomson's wool tests, that more than half mixed up green and blue, and many even seemed quite blind to violet,[60] On the other hand, unlike Homeric poets, the ancient Chinese did not identify the color of the short wave end of the spectrum with the entire absence of color or use the same word for black and blue. In going through the Book of Poetry I found the word white mentioned 24 times,

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60. Cited by H. Ellis, op.cit.

green 15, yellow 12, blue 11, red 10, and black 5 times. In one ballad there is mentioned the conflict between yellow and green, but nowhere is there a confusion made between black and blue, or blue and green.[61] Here it can be seen that green is mentioned more often than yellow or red.[62]

The blue or azure color is often refered to the sky above, cold and steadfast, leading mankind ever upward with the beckoning finger of imagination; or ocean below, mysterious and boundless, exciting curiosity, fear or awe. It has come to signify the social values of truth, honor, fidelity, serenity, wisdom, in distinction to passion and creative force, as in the case of red, which are necessary for the preservation of the race. For a long time China has been known as the "land of blue gowns". The blue gown

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61. We quote the first two stanza of a ballad by Lady Chwang Kiang, who feels her degraded position, and the expression takes a very metaphorical turn. Green is a color less esteemed than yellow. All things are inverted, and out of place.

Green now my robe!
  Green, lined with yellow.
Ah! when shall Grief
  Be not my fellow!

Green is the robe;
  Yellow the skirt!
Ah! when shall Grief
  Nevermore hurt!

62. H. Ellis has shown also the preference for green in English literature with the rise of Puritanism in the 17th century. See his "The Color Sense in Literature," Contemporary Rev. May, 1896.

was first worn only by the scholars, later also by servants, but now has become the formal garment for any special occasion.[63] The deeper shades of blue, however, are closely allied with black, and have much of its symbolism of its own; it may represent not only serenity, but coldness; not only contemplation, but melancholy.

Recent investigations on color preferences have brought out many interesting results showing that there is not only age or sex difference but racial difference as well. There is no need of going into all the data, but what concerns us most here is the results on racial difference and the changing value of colors, especially red and blue. We present here the following table based on the data gathered from different sources comparing the color preferences among the Whites,[64] the Negroes,[65] the Indians[66] and the Filipinos.[67]

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63. The blue flag has taken the place of the five colored national flag.

64. Garth, T. R.: A color preference scale for one thousand white children. Jour. Exper. Psychol., 1924, vii, 233-241.

65. Mercer, F. M.: The color preferences of one thousand and six Negroes. Jour. Comp. Psychol., 1925, v, 109-146.

66. Garth, T. R.: The color preferences of five hundred and fifty-nine full blood Indians. Jour. Exper. Psychol., 1922, v, 392-418.

67. Garth, T. R. and Collado, I. R.: The color preference of Filipino Children. Jour. Comp. Psychol., vi, 1929. 397-404.

Order of Color	Whites	Negroes	Indians	Filipinos
1	Blue	Blue	Red	Red
2	Green	Orange	Blue	Green
3	Red	Green	Violet	Blue
4	Violet	Violet	Green	Violet
5	Orange	Red	Orange	Orange
6	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	White
7	White	White	White	Yellow

TABLE I

We see in this table that both Whites and Negroes prefer blue, while Indians and Filipinos prefer red. Havelock Ellis suggests that the preference for blue to red among the Europeans was due to the Christian influence, for before Christian era red and yellow were the colors most preferred, especially among the Greeks."This was the outcome", he says "of the whole of the Christian revulsion against the classic world and the rejection of everything which stood as the symbol of joy and pride."[68] We do not think this is sufficient to account for the change of attitude. Christianity never depreciated red. On the contrary, it has adopted the brilliant colors associated with pagan rites and customs; the instance of Christmas amply shows. Besides, red is highly valued in the Bible. Adam, which means man, also means red, and is not far removed from Edom, which also means red, or the red man. Moreover, the red woolen fillet bound about the head of the scape-

68. The Psychology of Yellow, Popu. Scie. Mon. 68, 459.

goat, the burnt-offering of the unblemished red heifer together with cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet; and the sprinkling of blood before the door of the tabernacle—all these show the significance of red in the important religious rituals. Red has also become the color of martyrs, and in fact is closely connected with almost all religions. It seems to us that the rising popularity of blue over red is due to intellectual or educational influences rather than to Christianity.

We have shown the warmness and the emotional effectiveness of red and its relation to passion and feeling. And it seems that the cold quiet tone of blue has greater effect on the intelligent and educated group. Various investigators are of the opinion that children prefer red to green and blue, which rise in value with increasing age and intelligence.[69] The preference for blue among the Negroes is due to mixed blood.[70] Garth has shown that the mixed-blood Indians chose blue instead of red.[71] Among women and savages red is held in high esteem. The colors at the short wave end of the spectrum are hard to discriminate, while the savages can distinguish almost all the

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69. W. McDougall, op.cit.; Garth, op.cit.; Justrow, Popu. Scie. Mon. 1897, 361 ff. Winch, British Jour. Psychol. 1909.

70. See Mercer's statement. Jour. Comp. Psychol., op. cit., p. 115.

71. Op.cit.

tints and shades of the long wave end. In short, the gradual rising of blue superiority may be ascribed to the gradual increase of intellectual interest as well as to educational and social influences, and perhaps also to the gradual wane of the emotional aspect of religious life in the Western world.

So far we have no experimental data as to what color the Chinese most prefer. It has been shown that both red and blue are held in high esteem; red attaches to the popular belief of good luck, and hence to religion; blue to the secular and social interest. But yellow was once held to be supreme, the royal color of China. Concerning this we must take environmental influences into account, such as the color of the earth which was to the Chinese yellow; the influence of the Yellow River which was the cradle of Chinese civilization; the high esteem for Yellow Emperor who was regarded as the founder of the nation; and the sign of harvest in the yellow rice field. There is another factor, however, and that is the conception of yellow as the medium between red and blue, constituting the center of the whole color series. Its meaning approaches the meaning of red but instead of being passionate, destructive, or a color of creative force, it has the milder attributes of luminosity, cheerfulness and of sublimation. It passes also easily to the violet end of the scale and becomes the symbol of beneficient love, of human goodness,

of aspiration, and sublimation, or victory over baser tendencies. For these reasons it was adopted as the color of the emperor's robe, of the national flag, and at the time of the Manchu regime the wearing of a yellow jacket was the highest honor to be conferred on public officials.[72]

According to Arnold Ewald who has investigated the geographical distribution of the love of yellow, it is the most preferred color throughout the whole of Asia, ancient and modern,---in Assyria, India, and Ceylon.[73] But in the table shown above, yellow is not only underrated by Whites, Negroes, and Indians, but also by Filipinos, who value it lowest. If we accept Ellis' view, it is difficult to see how the Christian influence explains the color preferences of American Indians and Filipinos, who prefer red and yet deprecate yellow. It is quite probable that to the feeling of a more emotional group yellow is not attractive, while to the cold and intellectual it becomes repulsive. The rivalry between red and blue is a symbol of the rivalry between feeling and intellect, and yellow is the symbol of the Mean.

We have now seen in the various kinds of Chinese

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72. Dr. E. J. Kempf's The Psychology of "The Yellow Jacket" is a good analysis of the personality of the male youth and shows certain problems in psychopathology, though the material in the play or poem is not entirely true to the life of the Chinese. (The Psychoanalytic Review, LV, 393-423.)

73. Die Farben Bewegung, p. 64.

symbolism one common element, and that is the desire or inner urge for the reconciliation of the Opposites, for the unity of life, and for the attainment of the Mean. It is due to these deeper meanings inherent in the symbolic objects that the symbol becomes dynamic. The more symbolic the thing is the greater effect it will have upon human conduct. The significant or dynamic power of any symbol depends upon the individual knowledge of its history. In other words, it acquires significance in proportion as its history, which has been in the unconscious, is brought more and more into consciousness.

As moss and ivy growing on stone soon give it quite a different appearance, lending to it many a weird and fantastic feature, so it is with the moss and ivy of a symbol. Passing through all sorts of vicissitudes, its primitive ideas may still persist and acquire increased power, or it may degenerate into a meaningless form. Thus zodiacal signs of the Chaldean astronomers, the Lotus and Palm, the Pyramids and Sphinx of Egypt, the Assyrian Tree of Life and its guardians, the Hindu Stone and Tree and Serpent, the Jewish Ark and Shekinah, the Catholic Madona and Crucifix---all these strange and beautiful forms have pervaded the art of the civilized world, sometimes crystallizing into dogmas, sometimes into merely conventional ornaments of little value.

The deep significance of symbols is well stated

by Dr. Whitehead. He says: "The attitude of mankind towards symbolism exhibits an unstable mixture of attraction and repulsion. The practical intelligence, the theoretical desire to pierce to ultimate fact, and ironic critical impulses have contributed the chief motives toward the repulsion from symbolism." But he continues, "However you may endeavour to expel it, it ever returns. Symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degeneration: it is inherent in the very texture of human life. Language itself is a symbol."[74] Indeed, according to him, language and algebra seem to exemplify more fundamental types of symbolism than do the Cathedrals of Medieval Europe.

Let us now consider the Chinese language. Chinese ideograms are symbols which can be understood throughout China, in spite of the difference of dialects, mutually unintelligible when spoken. A few Chinese characters, suggestive to a marked degree, call up a whole train of ideas, images, and emotions in the mind of those who use them. A strong sentiment for Chinese culture including its system of writing was formed because of the persistence of the written language for thousands of years and its meaningful content full of historical allusions. According to Mr. Chi Li the Chinese language has produced the distinctive characteristics of Chinese civilization. He says:

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74. Symbolism, its Meaning and Effect, p. 60-61.

"Language has been traditionally treated by European scientists as a collection of sounds instead of an expression of something inner and deeper than the vocal apparatus as it should be. The cumulative effect of language-symbols upon one's mental formulation is still an unexploited field. Dividing the world culture of the living races on this basis, one perceives a fundamental difference of its types between the alphabetical users and the hieroglyphic users, each of which has its own virtues and vices. Now, with all respect to alphabetical civilization, it must be frankly stated that it has a grave and inherent defect in its lack of solidity. The most civilized portion under the alphabetical culture is also inhabited by the most fickle people. The history of the Western land repeats the same story over and over again. Thus up and down with the Greeks; up and down with Rome; up and down with the Arabs. The ancient Semitic and Hametic peoples are essentially alphabetic users, and their civilizations show the same lack of solidity as the Greeks and the Romans. Certainly this phenomenon can be partially explained by the extra-fluidity of the alphabetical language which cannot be depended upon as a suitable organ to conserve any solid idea. Intellectual contents of these people may be liken to waterfalls and cataracts, rather than seas and oceans. No other people is richer in ideas than they; but no

people would give up their valuable ideas as quickly as they do. ---

"The Chinese language is by all means the counterpart of the alphabetic stock. It lacks most of the virtues that are found in the alphabetic language; but as an embodiment of simple and final truth, it is invulnerable to storm and stress. It has already protected the Chinese civilization for more than forty centuries. It is solid, square, and beautiful, exactly as the spirit it represents. Whether it is the spirit that has produced this language or whether this language has in turn accentuated the spirit remain to be determined."[75]

But we must note that Chinese writing has passed through three stages, that of the Pictogram, the Ideogram and the Phonogram, and it has not progressed to the Syllabic or Alphabetic stages. It would not be far from the truth to say that Chinese writing represents a stage in the evolution of language which stands between hieroglyphics and alphabetics. Contrary to Mr. Li's theory which is perhaps impregnated with his love of mother tongue, Mr. J. T. Sun, in his study of the relation of the Chinese language to psychoanalysis, says:

"To one's colleagues who are not versed in Chinese literature it is difficult to depict in a suffi-

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75. Some Anthropological Problems of China, Chinese Student Monthly, Feb., 1922, p. 327.

ciently convincing manner the psychic drag that impedes the Chinese people in its struggle for existence and progress towards certain goals of western civilization. The mental energy necessary to acquire a thorough knowledge of their reading and writing is emphatically stupendous. The love of the Chinese for the classics, the pride in the teachings and sayings of their old philosophers is comparable to a fixation of the libido at the level of narcissism. The analyst who liberates a libido that has become arrested at, or regressed to, this level has had a memorable personal illustration of the energy that becomes available. An awakening, the like of which no history records, awaits the world when the libido of the Chinese people, now entangled in the intricacies of their writing and fixated at the ideographic period in the evolution of alphabet, becomes freed and directed towards a socially constructive national enterprise."[76]

There is no doubt some truth in each of these two opposite views quoted above, and perhaps stability as well as stagnation of Chinese civilization are to a certain extent due to language. But the peculiar function of the Chinese written language lies in its relation to sentiments. Many of the sentiments of social importance are of the nature of abstract sentiments; and in order that the emotion-

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76. Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. X, p. 189.

al reaction of these may be made as strong as possible, it is necessary to provide a concrete nucleus around which an abstract sentiment can gather. This is the chief function of all forms of symbolism. The diagram, the dragon, the phoenix, and the colors provide such nuclei for the abstract moral or ethical sentiments. Chinese characters often serve a similar purpose. Calligraphy in China has been regarded as an art; it goes hand in hand with painting. Art is considered by the Chinese as the expression of personality, and writing is said to be the revelation of a man's character and spirit. "The secret of art," says a twelfth century art critic, "lies in the artist himself."[77] Thus the handwriting of a scholar or a 'superior man' becomes an object of admiration and reverence, and to the masses all writings in general even a piece of waste newspaper becomes an object almost sacred. This veneration springs from their belief that writing is a device by means of which the sages imparted to them their knowledge, and through which their own thought and feeling are expressed. On the rock of the mountain or the walls of a public place mottoes and poems are engraved, and scrolls, written often by the hands of a master, decorate all homes. Nowhere outside of Chinese culture, has written language been so regarded as an art that reflects personality, as a symbol that

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77. Kuo Jo-husu, quoted by L. Binyon in his The Flight of the Dragon, p. 14.

suffices to call out the emotions of the ethical and aesthetic sentiments.

It is not hard to understand this since we know that man is in the center of humanistic culture and the cultivation of personality constitutes its goal. The Great Learning says: "From the emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of personality the root of everything besides."[78] "Even if I do not know a single word," says Lu Chiu-yuan, "I must try my best to become a man gloriously." "While above is heaven and below is earth, man lives in the middle. Unless he is able to become a man, his life is of no use."[79] But by what means that man may be a man? We have said that Confucius puts a great deal of emphasis on those cultural factors as poetry, music, and the rules of propriety or rites. "It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused," says Confucius, "by the rules of propriety that the character is established; from music that the finish is received."[80]

Let us consider the last two, rite and music, which are also symbolic forms and imply a psycho-social process. The Chinese term "Li" which has been translated as rite or the rules of propriety means a "code of honor"

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78. Chap. I. 6.

79. Quoted by H. C. Chen, The Economic Principles of Confucius and his school, Vol. I, p. 63.

80. Conf. Annalects, Book VIII, 8 and 2.

by which the "gentlemen" regulate their own conduct.[81] Its function as social reforms, as Confucius conceives it, is far better than law. "If the people be led by laws and their conduct regulated by punishments," says he "they may try to avoid the penalties but have no sense of shame. Lead them by virtue and standardize them by the rules of propriety, and they will have a sense of shame, and moreover, will become good."[82] Throughout the teaching of Confucius the sense of shame is strongly emphasized.[83] Now of all sentiments in the formation of character, the self-regarding sentiment is the most important.[84] This sentiment makes the individual see himself in the light of the opinions and feelings of others with respect

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81. The Chinese term, "Li" (禮), according to Dr. Hu Shih, can be best translated by the German word "Sittlichkeit" in the Hegelian sense. (The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China, p. 64). M. J. M. Callery could not find any better term than described it as follows: "Autant que possible, j'ai traduit Li par le mot Rite, dont les sens est susceptible à une grand étendue; mais il faut convinir que, suivant les circonstances où il est employé, il peut signifier---Cérémonial, Cérémonies, Pratiques cérémoniales, L'étquette, Politesse, Urbanité, Courtoisie, Honneteté, Bonnes manieres, Égards, Bonne éducation, Bienséance, Les form, Les convenances, Savoir-vivre, Décorum, Décence, Dignite personnelle, Moralite de conduité, Ordre Social, Devoirs de Société, Lois Sociales Devoirs, Droit, Morale, Lois hierarchiques, Offrande, Usages, Coutumes". (Li Ki, Ou Memorial des Rites, Introd. p. 16). When we use the words rite or the rules of propriety we remember that it means a great deal more than the word connotes.

82. Li Ki, Book VII, Sec. II, Chap. XX. 2.

83. Ibid. Book XX, Sec. 4.

84. W. McDougall: Outline of Psychology, Chap. XVII.

to himself. "Li" as we have already said is a body of rules or the ideal of conduct which has been formulated and accepted by the ancient Chinese society, and to make it a study will enable one to know whether or not he conforms to the standards demanded by his social group. Thus says Confucius, "Without an acquaintance with the rules of propriety, it is impossible for the character to be established."[85] Throughout the Book of Rite such abstract sentiments as benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety are emphasized, but the whole theme is attached to the sentiment of self-regard.[86]

Dr. Legge points out that "Li" or rite is a two-

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85. Conf. Analects, Chap. XX, 3.

86. The business of "saving face" which often strikes foreigners in China as ludicrous, is only the carrying out of the sentiment of self-regard, which has been inculcated in them for centuries. We quote one contemptuous statement from Mr. Gilbert; "The ingrained self-esteem of the Chinese people has given birth to a sense of dignity commensurate with their imagined importance; and to define and protect this dignity, the Chinese have evolved a code of honor which was until very lately strictly adhered to,---. In Chinese terminology it would be described as the code of 'face'. To 'make face' is to enhance one's dignity, ---while to 'lose face' is to sacrifice dignity, which is equivalent to spiritual death. ---The meekest Chinese, the merest mouse for courage, will fight any odds to save his 'face', and hundreds die of apoplexy every year who find themselves minus a certain degree of 'face'.--- To give all the laws of 'face' which are recognized after a few years contact with the Chinese by even the most casual observer, would need a very large book indeed. The outsider who does not understand Chinese standard of manhood and propriety and who is ignorant of the Chinese inborn sense of superiority, could anticipate very few of them." (What's Wrong with China, p. 27). "Self-respect and personal dignity are possible for every coolie in China." This is a strong feature of Chinese culture and should not be taken as an evil. Everybody has 'face', even the humblest beggar.

fold symbolism, the one being the symbol of religious import, and the other, a symbol for the feeling of propriety.[87] Such feeling of propriety lies essentially in the formation of sentiments. "While every sentiment that is formed makes for stability in a certain special direction, the self-sentiment makes for stability in all social relations, and at the same time by, as it were, joining up all the other sentiments gives stability to the whole."[88] Moreover, rite has become the most effective symbol of moral sentiments in virtue of its repetition of the forms in which the abstract idealism is objectified. As Dr. MdDougall says: "The oftener the object of the sentiment becomes the object of anyone of the emotions comprised in the system of the sentiment, the more readily will it evoke that emotion again, because in accordance with the law of habit, the connexions of the psycho-physical dispositions becomes more intimate the more frequently they are brought into operation."[89] Thus sentiments aroused and appealed to in rites, religions, and art are strong because they depend in so large a measure upon truth, beauty and goodness, and the repetitive form of memory which, structurally, are only applications of the law of habit. The effectiveness of this symbol is seen in Mr. Callery's caricature of the

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87. J. Legge, Li Ki, Introduction, pp. 7-9, SBE Vol. XXVI.

88. James Drever, The Psychology of Everyday Life, p.42.

89. Social Psychology, p. 131.

Chinese spirit. "Le cremonial" he says, "résume l'esprit Chinois. ---Ses affections, si elle en a, sont satisfaites par le cérémonial; ses devoirs, elle les remplit au moyen du cérémonial; la vertu et le vice, elle les reconnait au cérémonial; en un mot, pour elle le cérémonial c'est l'homme, l'homme moral, l'homme politique, l'homme religieux, dans ses multiples rapports avec la famille, la société, l'etat, la morale et la religion."[90]

The symbolic function of rite or the rules of propriety at least serves the practical purpose of providing the emotions with a bridge between mechanical routine and the higher ideals. It does not stop as ceremonial, and it is not ceremonial only. "A life rendered in harmony with it," says the English scholar Dr. Legge, "would realize the highest Chinese ideals, and surely a very high ideal, of human character."[91] According to Confucius rite is not only a kind of stabilizing symbol in social relations but also gives stability to the inner life. Its function is to secure the mean in desires, the conative aspect of human life. Thus he says: "The strongest desires of man are for food and sex. The strongest aversion of man is to death and poverty. Desire and aversion are the fundamental elements of man's mind. If it be wished to give a uniform

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90. Op.cit., Introduction.

91. Op.cit., p. 10.

measure to these elements, there is no other way besides rite."[92] Once he was asked how the Mean can be secured, he answered, "By rite; it is rite that defines and determines the Mean."[93] Again, "without the Rules of Propriety, respectfulness becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, timidity; boldness, insubordination; and straightforwardness, rudeness".[94] It has certainly provided ideas about which Chinese emotional dispositions have organized and toward which the Chinese have learned to react in a habitual manner. The stability of Chinese social customs and institutions and the persistence of their traits may partly be due to these intolerably elaborate rules of propriety, prescribing with rigidity and in minute detail every phase of human conduct including eating, clothing, standing, walking, cooking, talking, sleeping, marriage, and even death.

Now the function of music is to secure the mean in sentiment and passion. In the Discourse on Music, we read:

"Therefore, it is said: 'Music is joy'. The superior man rejoices that the expression of passion is in accordance with the right way. When men regulate passion in the right way, there is joy, but

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92. Li Ki, Book VIII, 8.

93. Ibid., 8.

94. Conf. An., Book VII, 2.

no disorder. When they let passion go and forget the right way, there is delusion, but no joy.

"Music is produced by the modulation of sound, and has its source in the emotion of mind when the mind is affected by external things. When the mind is moved to sorrow, the sound is sharp and fading away; when it is moved to joy, the sound is slow and gentle; when it is moved to pleasure, the sound is exclamatory and soon disappears; when it is moved to anger, the sound is coarse and fierce; when it is moved to reverence, the sound is straightforward and humble; when it is moved to love, the sound is fine and soft. These sentiments cannot be produced by mind itself, but by the affection of the external things. Therefore the ancient philosopher kings were careful about the things that might affect the mind. They instituted rite to direct man's desire, and music to harmonize man's sentiment."[95]

Both rite and music are symbols having physical influence in moderating conative and affective sides of life. "Thus the ancient kings, in their institutions of rite and music, were not to give the extreme satisfaction of desires and appetites. They were to teach people to moderate their likes and dislikes and thus to return to the norm of humanity."[96] As to society as a whole,

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95. Li Ki, Book VII, Sec. I, Chap. II. 16.

96. Ibid, Chap. X. 5.

"Music establishes union and harmony; rite maintains difference and distinction. From union comes mutual affection; from distinction, mutual respect."[97]

"Therefore the ancient philosopher kings instituted rite and music to give measure to everybody---

"Rite is to regulate man's mind; music is to harmonize man's sentiment; government is to promote their performance; law is to guard against their violation. When rite, music, government, and law have everywhere the full course without irregularity and collision the rule of the philosopher kings is complete."[98]

"When music is perfect and attains its full result, there will be no dissatisfaction with the mind. When rite is perfect and attains its full result, there will be no discord among the people. Thus when we say the philosopher kings govern the world with bowing and courtesy we mean that they govern with rite and music."[99]

Thus according to Confucius those symbols that wield the greatest influence on individual and social life are rite and music. In his system, these twin sisters are even more important than gymnastics and music in Plato's

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97. Ibid, Chap. XV. 17.

98. Ibid, Chap. XIV. 11.

99. Li Ki, Book VII, Sec. I, Chap. XVIII. 7.

and Aristotle's. In comparison with rite and music, government and law are but secondary. The main function of government and law is but to provide the conditions that make rite and music possible, so that the people may lead a proper way of life. But not only the ancient classical music of tradition which Confucius prized so highly has been entirely lost, no records on music from his hand remain, except one chapter on this subject in the Book of Rites. "In this very field," says Dr. Wilhelm, "so dear to him, Confucius exercised least influence on the future."[100]

The Chinese symbols we have hitherto mentioned provide the means by which psychical impulses are not only communicated from one person to another, but from generation to generation. They are a most effective agency for the preservation and transmission of psychical forces. All arts are in fact symbolic; and symbols penetrate into art. The diagram, the dragon, the phoenix, and the colors have become decorative art; music and poetry fine art, and the rite social art. Like other kinds of art, according to Confucius, rite and music also originated in the imitation of nature. "Music imitates the harmony of the universe; rite imitates the order of the universe. There are heaven above and earth below, and between them there are

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100. A Short History of Chinese Civilization, English Translation by J. Joshua, p. 141.

the various things with different ranks and dignity. This gives man the pattern of rite. There is the unceasing stream of evolution, in which all things are in harmony and in accordance. This gives man the model of music. In the spring all things burst forth; in the summer all things grow. This is benevolence. In the autumn all things mature; in the winter, all things rest. This is justice. Benevolence is akin to music; justice is akin to rite."[101]

Nature was thus considered by the Chinese as containing a symbolic reference to abstract sentiments. The kinds of sentiments aroused in response to nature are of fundamental importance in determining the course of cultural development. In this respect let us compare China with India and Europe. The Indian attitude toward nature is essentially one of worship, and the emotions evoked in presence of natural forces are mainly awe and reverence. Of the great multitude of deities who compose the vast Hindu pantheon the character and attributes of at least nine tenths would justify a claim to the name and rank of "nature" divinities.[102] Their symbolism with a wealth of tropical beauty and suggestiveness represents the phenomena of nature as mysterious, all powerful, and capable of exer-

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101. Li Ki, Book VII, Sec. I, Chap. 28.

102. G. S. Geden, on Nature in Hasting's E.R.E.; Vol. IX, p. 229.

cising good or evil influences on mankind. "In the hymns of the Rig-veda, the earliest literature of the Hindus, a simple nature worship is presented, the naive wonder and reverence of man in presence of the mighty forces of the universe by which he is encompassed."[103] All gods are symbolically represented to the eyes of men with material forms of objects or animals; hence, the goose of Brahma, the monstrous eagle of Visnu, the bull of Siva and countless others. Consequently, not only the great natural forces are worshipped, even cows, monkeys, snakes and down to plants are considered holy and to be treated with reverence and awe. Thus "India has gone mad on religion and finds divinity everywhere."[104] Though the philosophic conception of everything as "maya", or illusion, denying the real existence of a world of nature, this theoretical speculation simply avoids the issue and has very little influence on the practical life. The emotions and sentiments called forth by all kinds of nature symbolism around them reenforce the passive and contemplative nature of the Indians.

On the other hand, the attitude of the Europeans toward nature is primarily one of subdueing and conquest of nature. Natural phenomena evoke in them wonder and curiosity, which in turn stimulate them to search for the

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103. Ibid.

104. E. D. Soper, The Religions of Mankind, p. 174.

laws that govern the universe. It was discovered that nature is easily "managed" by intelligence so long as her laws are understood and that not only her destructive power can be averted, but it can be subjugated, utilized, and controlled. Further elaboration on this point is unnecessary, for the whole history of mankind proves that the enormous strides of progress made by the Western civilization are due to the practical conquest of matter and the subjection of all the materials and forces of nature to the control and service of man. The energy expended in coercing men as in China, or directed to purely spiritual things as in India yielded no progressive results, but effort expended upon matter, reenforced by the impulses of self-assertion and curiosity, has put the West on the road to social progress far ahead of the weak, stagnant civilization of the East.

As we have said, to the Chinese nature is a symbol, a model for all works of art. A primrose to them is not a mere primrose. Their feeling may be best expressed in Wordsworth's lines:[105]

> To me the meanest flower that grows can bring
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

Admiration and love are the sentiments aroused in their res-

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105. Gotterill says in his History of Art, "It is strange how, so many centuries before, the Chinese artist and philosopher should have anticipated the attitude of Wordsworth toward nature" (p. 525). About Wordsworth Mr. Binyon says: "These old Chinese would have understood the English poet better than his own countrymen;---"(op.cit., p. 35). Hove-

ponse to nature. Although, nature worship is not lacking, it is not at all significant. The subjection of nature was also emphasized, but only at the early stage of Chinese culture. Thus the Book of Poetry claims an antiquity higher than either the Hebrew Psalms or the Hindu Rigveda, yet it contains vastly less of religious feeling and sentiment than the former, and lacks almost wholly the mythology of the latter. Most of it is eminently secular and human, and nature is represented exactly as it represents itself.[106] Such symbols as the diagram, the dragon and the phoenix were not worshipped, but became an object of art. The Chinese attitude is essentially an appreciation of nature.

In the words of Mr. Binyon, "The great original art tradition of Europe had its home in Greece; the great original art tradition of Asia has its home in China."[107] The reason is obvious. As the relation between man and nature becomes closer and more intimate, art, especially Landscape-painting, assumes a great importance. "It is in the relation of man to nature," says Mr. Binyon, "that

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laque says: "Among all these philosophers and poets there is no better guide than Wordsworth to the understanding of Loism. Again, quoting a stanza from the Chinese poet of the tenth century he says "Do not these lines sum up all the poetry of Wordsworth, all the poets of life?" (La Chine, p. 135).

106. Cf. W. Jennings, The Shi King, p. 10.

107. Quoted by H. B. Gotterill, A History of Art, Vol. II, p. 513.

the painting of China and Japan has sought and found its most characteristic success."[108] Moreover, it is because of the appreciation of nature that the Chinese and Japanese acknowledge the continuity of the universe and recognize the kinship between their own life with the life of animals and plants. And so they approach all life with respect, giving each existence its due value.

The arousal of those sentiments of love, joy, and appreciation in presence of nature lies in the Chinese conception of nature as a symbol of all that is good, of beauty, truth, benevolence and justice. To them nature is not niggardly, harsh, and cruel; but bounteous, generous and kind. Such should be the example for a superior man. By learning to recognize these attributes in nature we can integrate in ourselves similar patterns of sentiments out of the old but less effectively organized patterns of sentiments in ourselves. In short, symbolic imitation of nature is considered necessary for the integration of personality. Man is not conceived as a separate entity detached from the universe, but as part of it. Nature is good, so the original nature of man is also good. Matter and spirit are one. The Chinese idea of the unity of nature is most clearly expressed in art. "Thus we find in Chinese art," says Mr. Binyon, "a strong synthetic power,

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108. Op.cit., p. 23.

which differentiates it and lifts it beyond the art of Persia and the art of India. The Chinese painters are not, like the Persians, absorbed in expressing their sensuous delight in the wonder and glory in the world. Nor do they as Indian artists prone to do, leave the spiritual meaning of a picture to be apprehended indirectly, by recognition of the subject matter instead of directly through a mood expressed in line and form. Their great achievement is to fuse the spiritual and the material."[109] Through the imitation of nature their sentiments are expressed in art, which, in turn constitutes an aesthetic appeal of those abstract sentiments taken to be inherent in nature.

Such sentiments as love, joy and appreciation of nature are not found only among the artists, poets, and philosophers; they are found also among the masses, among the peasants and the coolies. On this point most Western observers agree. Illustrations abound in traveler's diaries and in general works on China.[110] It is not necessary for us to dwell upon this subject any longer. But it is necessary for us to point out the fact that the love of nature neither contributes anything to, nor receives any material

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109. Op.cit., p. 14.

110. Bertrand Russel says: "China may be regarded as an artist nation,---When I speak of art as one of the things that have value on their own account, I do not mean only the deliberate productions of trained artists,---I mean also the almost unconscious effort after beauty which one finds among---Chinese coolies,---" (Op.cit., p. 4,6.)Perhaps the best description is one of Jean Rodes'. He says: 'Il y a

benefit from nature. It is not curiosity to know more of nature, although this, or at least an ardent desire to do so, necessarily accompanies it.[111] Since nature is good and beautiful, happiness would consist in so ordering our life as to comform with nature. This inevitably leads to contentment with nature which prevents all effort for material progress. Nature at its best is a symbolic representation of the inner life, or something for artists to paint, poets to sing, but not for scientists to investigate. Art may serve to swell the volume of life and to satisfy aesthetic interest, but art need not be progressive.[112]

Thus the organization of sentiments in relation

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certainement entre les Celestes et les bêtes une entente que nous ignorons. C'est dû sans doute à ce qu'ils sont, eux aussi, très près de la nature. Cela crée, entre les uns et les autres, un lien fraternel dont nous n'avons pas idee. Les Chinois pourraient dire, comme saint François d'Assise; "Mon frère le moineau." ---This passage is followed with incidents of his own observations, but they are too long to be quoted here. (Op.cit., p. 147).

111. Cf. Dealey and Ward, op.cit., pp. 145-147.

112. The works of Fenellosa, Laufer, Petruci, Giles, Binyon, Waley, Ferguson and others have brought the knowledge of Chinese and Japanese art to the West and the expeditions of Sir Stein and Pelliot, the collection of British Museum and Louvre, and the private collections of Freer, Eumorphoulous, Stoclet, Vignier and others have increased the interest in Chinese art. "Laufer says of a landscape scroll (by Li Ssu-Hsun, 740 A.D.) in the Freer collection, which claims to be an original, that one who has not seen this picture of Li's, does not know what art is, in technique and in mental depth. Perhaps it is the greatest painting in existence." (Arts and Art Craft of Ancient China, p. 25).

to nature has defined the course of the three great branches of civilization of the world: the Indian, the European, and the Chinese. According to Shand's law of organization of sentiments, "every sentiment tends to include in its system all the emotions, thoughts, volitional processes and qualitites of character which are of advantage to it for the attainment of its ends, and to reject all such constituents as are either superfluous or antagonistic." The advance of culture is certainly governed by this hidden fundamental law. Cultural conflict and the clash of colors may also be explained by this law and the different ways of response to the symbolic presentation of nature.

We may sum up this chapter by saying that in all the forms of Chinese symbolism we have examined there is found one common "hidden value", and that is the element of personality in which the mean is attained and conflicts harmonized. The cultivation of this type of personality is the goal of Chinese culture and the objective of the individual. All the symbols that we have analyzed have the function of preserving and transmitting cultural traits, and their effectiveness depends upon their relation to the formation of sentiments. The oftener the emotions comprised in the system of the sentiment are evoked together the more effective they become as agents in the formation of character and personality. Such decorative symbolism as the diagram, the dragon, the phoenix, and the colors

is part of the daily experience of the Chinese. The symbol of the written language is constantly used; they still obey more or less the rules of propriety; prize highly music and art; and are still in constant contact with nature.

CHAPTER V

INTELLECTUAL STREAMS OF INFLUENCE IN CHINESE CULTURE

The problem of Chinese culture has been discussed in the previous chapters on the basis of instinctive tendencies, temperamental traits and sentiments. These factors are essential in cultivating character and in determining the form of moral traditions. In this chapter an enquiry is made into the cognitive aspect of Chinese life by tracing the development of those thoughts and ideas which have contributed to the formation of Chinese intellectual traditions. Within a short compass it would be impossible to make a complete survey of the whole range of Chinese thought. Therefore only their intellectual achievements bearing upon the problems of human nature and conduct are to be considered since the interest of the Chinese scholars for the past three thousand years has been mainly in this line of study.

The march of the history of Chinese thought, according to Dr. Hackmann,[1] consists of four main movements: first, creative philosophical genius had free play and produced the "Golden Age" of the Ante-Chin period; se-

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1. Heinrich Hackmann: Chinesische Philosophie, An abstract from the review of S. K. Hsiao in the Jour. of Philosophy, January, 1929. p. 125.

cond, intellectual activities sank into a state of lethargy, and scholars devoted their energy to the understanding of the interpretation of ancient texts; third, the introduction of Buddhism brought free impetus to the Chinese philosophical mind and produced not only a number of Buddhist schools peculiar to China but also prepared the way for the renaissance of the ancient schools in the subsequent period; fourth, incited and influenced by foreign thought, a number of Sung thinkers revived and further developed the Confucian doctrine to a comparatively high degree of perfection.

In the ante-Chin period (about 700-221 B.C.) there were at least nine rival schools of thought, among which the most powerful were Taoism, Confucianism and Mohism.[2] As to Lao-tze, the founder of Taoism, his main line of thought lay in his conception of Tao, the Creative Principle, Cosmic Urge, or Vital Impulse, and also in his emphasis on the spontaneity of life, the need of return to nature and the futility of knowledge. His thought may be better understood by considering the views of Chaung-tze, his disciple and interpreter.

According to Chaung-tze, (about 370-225 B.C.)

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2. The nine schools are as follows: (1) Confucianism, (2) Taoism, (3) Spiritualism, (4) The school of Law, (5) The school of Logic, (6) Mohism, (7) The School of Diplomacy, (8) The school of Generalization, (9) The school of Agriculture.

happiness consists in living an instinctive life, for such a life is the only royal way to what he called the "Happy excursion", as in the spontaneous flight of Rukh and Cicada. "Everything is self-sufficient in its instinct. The great Rukh has nothing to be proud of in comparison with the small cicada; nor has the small cicada anything to be desired in the celestial Lake (the place where the Rukh flies to). Both of them are satisfied. Therefore, although their size is different, their happiness is the same."[3] If life is the happiest where instincts reign, this should also be true with human society. He says: "The people have certain natural instincts---such instincts are called 'Heaven sent'. So in the day when natural instincts prevailed, men moved quietly and gazed steadily. At that time---all things were produced, each for its own sphere---and all creation was one. ---Being all equally without knowledge, their virtue could not go astray. Being all without evil desires, they were in a state of natural integrity, the perfection of human existence."[4]

Such a theory as this naturally leads to anti-intellectualism. According to Chuang-tze the sages with

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3. Comment on Chaung-tze' work quoted by Y. L. Fung, A Comparative Study of Life Ideals, p. 17.

4. Chaung-tze's Work, H. A. Giles' translation, pp. 107, 108.

their power of intellect attempted to introduce artificiality into the state of nature. They inculcated ceremonies and music, taught justice and benevolence, and developed in the people a taste for knowledge and desire for gain. They try to modify nature and do not know that "A duck's legs, though short cannot be lengthened without pain to the duck, and a crane's legs, though long, cannot be shortened without misery to the crane."[5] As soon as instinct is disturbed by intellect there is no more happiness, nay no life, but death. Thus he gives the following illustration:

"The Lord of the South Sea is called Change; the Lord of the Northern Sea is called Uncertainty; and the Lord of the Center is called Primitivity. Change and Uncertainty often met on the territory of primitivity, and being always well treated by him, determined to repay his kindness. They said 'All men have seven holes---for seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing. Primitivity alone has none. We will bore some for him' so every day they bored one hole; but on the seventh day Primitivity died."[6]

Now let one compare this story with Condillac's illustration of a marble Statue which he believed if it were given sensation, would possess all possible human experience. Life for Condillac lies in the development

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5. Ibid., p. 110. 6. Ibid., p. 98.

of senses but for Chaung-tze in the preservation of natural integrity.

If such is his conception of life it is not hard for us to understand why Chaung-tze went further in his rebellion against culture. In this, however, he was not alone; he might find in his company some Greek Philosophers, and notably Jean Jacques Rousseau and Edward Carpenter. Culture is bad, because it is intended to modify man's original nature, and it has become a fetter to mankind. "Now the causes of the loss of man's original nature," he says, "are five in number. The five colors confuse the eyes and cause them to fail to see clearly. The five sounds confuse the ears and cause them to fail to hear accurately. The five scents confuse the nose and obstruct the sense of taste. Finally likes and dislikes disturb the mind and cause the dispersion of the original nature. These are all banes of life; yet Yang and Mo regarded them as the Summum Bonum. They are not what I consider the Summum Bonum, for if men who are thus fettered can be said to have Summun Bonum, the pigeons and owls in a cage may also be said to have attained the Summum Bonum."[7]

Therefore all those things that fetter mankind or obstruct innate tendencies must be abolished, even govern-

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7. Ibid., p. 155.

ment. For he says, "There has been such a thing as letting mankind alone; there has never been such a thing as governing mankind. Letting alone springs from the fear lest men's native dispositions be perverted and their natural virtue laid aside. But if their native dispositions be not perverted and their natural virtue be not laid aside, what room is there left for government."[8]

Moreover, there is no logical or moral distinction, for Chaung-tze maintains the doctrine of relativity or truth and false-hood, right and wrong, All such logical and moral distinctions are indications of imperfect knowledge. True knowledge sees things in their totality and therefore transcends all such distinctions. "Argumentation only shows that men have not seen the whole."[9] "Great knowledge is comprehensive; little knowledge is always particular."[10] "For all things have their own peculiar constitution and their own peculiar potentialities. Nothing is merely what it seems. Nothing is incapable of realizing what it can be." Therefore, viewed from this standpoint, a beam and a pillar are one, and ugliness and beauty are the same. So are oddities and perversities. In disintegration there is integration. In construction there

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8. Giles translations, p. 227.

9. Chaung-tze's works, Chap. XXII, 12.

10. Ibid., Chap. XXII, 5.

is destruction. All things, be they in construction or in destruction, are pervaded by one and the same principle. Only the truly wise understand this underlying unity of all things."[11] This conception of the unity of all things is based on Chaung-tze's doctrine of evolution. He says: "The life of all animate things is like the galloping of a horse, changing at every moment, moving at every moment. What do they do? And what do they not do? They will naturally transform themselves."[12] "All things are species which develop into one another through the process of variation in forms. Their beginnings and endings are like those of a perfect ring incapable of being definitely located. This is called the rhythm of nature."

The variation in forms is caused by the adaptation of each species to its particular environment, for "different situations require different faculties."[13] All transformation and adaptation are simply natural processes; "the stork does not have to wash itself daily in order to become white. The crow does not have to paint itself daily in order to become black."[14] Applying this theory in human life he urged men to live a life in accordance with the laws of cosmic evolution. Such briefly

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11. Ibid., Book II, 9.

12. Ibid., Book XVII, 1.

13. Ibid., Book XXVII, 1.

14. Ibid., Book II, 4.

is Chaung-tze's system of thought; his distinctive contribution is his emphasis on value of native disposition and the unity and continuity of life; his defect lies in his rejection of intellect, in his repudiation of culture and the total abolition of logical and moral distinction.

Based on the same doctrine of evolution, Leih-tze's (4th century B.C.) account of human nature is only slightly different from that of Chaung-tze. He conceives all species of plants and animals as forming one continuous order beginning with "Ki" or germ passing through the various forms of lower organisms, and culminating in man.[15] According to him the immediate ancestor of man in evolution was the horse; at death man goes back into the germ again. "All things come from the germs and will return to germs."[16] Most of the biological terms used by Leih-tze and Chaung-tze are unintelligible to us; only fragmentary works on biological study have been preserved. It is doubtful that their bold hypothesis was based on scientific data accessible at that time, but their speculation is strikingly similar to the theory of Darwin. Darwin, being born at a time when science was advanced enough for him to supply considerable evidence for his theory, naturally was able better to establish his case; while Leih-tze, being an

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15. Ibid., Book XIV.

16. Leih-tze: Works, Book I:4; This same passage also occurs in Chaung-tze's work, Book, XVIII, 6.

idealist, arrived at the hypothesis with less opportunity for observation. The theory of evolution was rejected by Chinese scholars, until its revival in our own age. Leih-tze insists on the unity of all lives and maintains that the only difference in them lies in the superiority of strength and intelligence. There is in his book a little story which seems to be in accord with the modern theory of struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. It tells of a twelve-year old boy who answered the remark of his host "that nature had produced all things for the use of man", by saying:"All beings in the universe coexist with men on a basis of equality. There is no natural order of supriority and inferiority; they conquer and prey on one another only by virtue of their superior strength and intelligence. No species is purposely produced for the sake of another. Men, too, prey on those things which they are able to conquer. How can we say that nature has produced them for our benefit? Do not mosquitoes suck our blood and do not tigers and wolves eat our flesh? Shall we say that nature has produced men for the benefit of mosquitoes and tigers and wolves."[17]

Out of his doctrine of evolution Leih-tze formulates his philosophy of nothingness, for, according to him, the universe originated from nothing and eventually

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17. Ibid., Book VII, 20.

returns to nothing. He may be called a nihilist in the original sense of the word, but unlike the Russian nihilists, he did not advocate the destruction of the existing social order. He doubted everything and felt that everything was heading towards nothing. To return to this state of nothingness spiritually therefore was the most desirable thing for him to do. When the spirit rests in nothingness the mind and body are left entirely to nature. It is by means of spiritual self-extinction that one finds one's self.

Hence only by letting nature alone can one's spirit be set at a perpetual peace. Why should one disturb his spirit by interfering with or checking the inclinations of nature? If appetite is nature, let it be satisfied by eating or drinking. If sex is nature, let it run its full course. The moment one checks the inclinations of nature, he disturbs his inner self, and a struggle between the spirit and the body begins. The struggle is both fierce and lasting and seemed to Leih-tze a hopeless waste of energy.

To him inner life is the pivot of the whole thing. Thus he says: "Your method of controlling the external life may temporarily be applied to a nation; it does not, however, agree with human nature, while our system of controlling the inner life is applicable to all mankind."[18]

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18. Ibid., Book XII, 12.

He remarked on travelling, for he was a great traveller: "When engaged in seeing the outer world, you forget to see your inner self. A traveller is anxious to see everything of interest out of himself; but a person who seeks the views of his inner self finds sufficient wonders inside himself. To aim at a complete view of one's self, the trip has a destination; while to aim at a complete view of the outside world the trip reaches nowhere."[19]

Now both Chaung-tze and Leih-tze conceive man as a species of animal related to other animals and plants. Both see the importance of native disposition and both urge living in harmony with nature. In order to achieve such aims, Chuang-tze repudiates culture and intellect so that natural integrity may be preserved; while Leih-tze emphasizes the controlling of the inner life by indulging it and lets nature alone.

Leih-tze's doctrine of the enjoyment of life culminates in the most thoroughgoing hedonism of Young Chu. Like Aristippus of Cyrene, he considers individual enjoyment the test of true value. To him pleasure and pain determine all human action and desire is the supreme force. "Now what the ear likes to hear is music, and the prohibition of it is what I call obstruction of the ear. What the eye likes to look at is beauty, and its not being per-

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19. Ibid., Book XXX, 6.

mitted to regard this beauty I call obstruction of sight. What the nose likes to smell is perfume; and its not being permitted to smell I call obstruction of smell. What the mouth likes to talk about is right and wrong; and if it is not permitted to speak I call it obstruction of understanding... All these obstructions are a source of the most painful vexation."[20] In order to satisfy desires, one must make choice. Between the desire for free expression of passion and the desires for social approval or fame, he chooses the former. Between the desire that can be satisfied immediately and that in the future he chooses the immediate. Thus he says: "Being warned and exhorted by punishments and rewards, urged and repelled by fame and laws, men are constantly rendered anxious. Striving for one glory during life and providing splendor after death, they go their unpleasant ways carefully considering what they should hear, should see, should do, and should think. So they lose immediate pleasure and cannot give way to their feelings. How do they differ from chained criminals?"[21] Again, "Po Yi was not without desire, but for wishing people to admire his purity, he was led to death by starvation, Chau Chi was not without sexual passion, but wishing people to admire his chastity, he remained childless.

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20. Forke, A.: Young Chu's Garden of Pleasure, pp. 43, 44.

21. Forke, A.: Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure, p. 39.

How purity and chastity lead men to miss the real good!"[22] His main point is to follow one's own inclination indifferent to the chances of life, and to seek the immediate pleasure regardless of the remote future consequence.[23] The worst consequence that human actions can entail is death, but one can escape such fear with a kind of self-rationalization and pretended courage. If all people should seek immediate pleasure only, there will be no struggle for wealth, power, domination and control, and thus the world would be in a perfect ideal state. According to the Cyrenaics, pleasure must be something positive, something produced by human efforts to satisfy human desires, and this agrees exactly with Yang Chu's thought. But pleasure, no matter how immediate it is, is an end, and in realizing the end one has to use some means which may at times incur pain. That an end can be secured without having any sacrifice or effort is a false notion to the practical mind of the Chinese. Thus hedonism breaks down utterly, and it never again exerted any great influence in the history of Chinese thought.

Now the spirit of these three thinkers, Chaung-tze, Leih-tze, and Yan Chu, is essentially that of the revolt against culture, though their doctrines are not the same. They felt that man's nature and his environment were not in harmony. Culture has lost its purpose and func-

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22. Ibid., p. 41. 23. Ibid., pp. 49-51.

tion which were originally for the satisfaction of individual wants. Now man is made for culture, and not culture for man. They all pleaded for nature, passion, and happiness; one urged the preservation of natural integrity, the other recommended the extinction of self, and the third the enjoyment of life to its fullest extent.

In opposition to Hedonism, there arose the school of Utilitanianism. This is represented by Moh-tze and his followers. The principle of utility recognizes the dominion of two sovereign masters, pleasure and pain, and lays down the means by which pain may be avoided and pleasure gained, or in the other words desire may be satisfied. But desire is always blind, so Moh-tze called in intellect. The function of intellect is to forsee the consequence of the present action.[24] In Moh-tze's terminology, instead of pleasure and pain, he uses benefits and harms. Man's desire to secure the remote benefits and to avoid the remote harms is guided and controlled by the foresight of the intellect. By foreseeing the consequence, the intellect can measure the incompatible benefits and harms in the immediate and remote future and thus lead

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24. Moh-tze gives the following illustration: "If a man desires to cut his finger, and his intellect does not foresee the harm, it is the fault of the intellect. But if the intellect makes a careful consideration and foresees all the harmful consequences, but the desires still want to cut, then it is the desire that makes man suffer." Moh-tze: Works, Chap. XL.

desires to an adjustment. "In adjusting the incompatible conflicts we take the greatest of the benefits, because we will; but we take the smallest of the harms, because we must."[25] In a way Utilitarianism is also a form of hedonism which transcends the lower types of sensuous pleasure and seeks not the immediate, but the greatest benefits and the remote happiness.

Accocding to hedonism, the standard of action is subjective feeling, while according to utilitarianism the standard must be an external one. Thus Moh-tze argues that there are three standards for testing the soundness of a principle. First, trace it to the authority of the wisest men of the past; secondly, survey it by the facts of actual experience; thirdly, put it into practice and see whether it is useful and beneficial.[26] Moh-tze considers ancient authority as an important factor in determining value, because it represents the experience of the past, just as the second represents the experience of the present, and the

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25. He says: "To measure the importance and unimportance of what happened to us is called measurement. Measurement is not necessarily to decide that the one is intrinsically right and the other intrinsically wrong. Measurement is simply adjustment. To cut off the finger in order to save the arm is to take the greatest of the benefits and the smallest of the harms. To take the smallest of the harms is not to take harm, but to take the benefit. Because what we now take is not in the control of our will. For instance, when a man meets a robber, he is compelled to cut his finger in order to save his life. The act of cutting his finger is beneficial; only the fact that he meets the robber is harmful." Moh-tzx, Works, Chap. XLIV.

26. Moh-tze, Works, Chap. XXXV.

third represents the experience of the future. Since the experience of the present is intimately associated with that of the past, and the future with the present, we go back to the past only when it helps us to define the course of the future.[27] He says: "When we cannot reach a decision in our deliberation we examine the past in order to know the future".[28] Among these standards, the most important is the third, for it resembles closely modern pragmatism. Thus he says: "The doctrine that can be put into practice is to be honored. That which cannot be put into practice is but a group of words."[29]

Moh-tze's teachings are based on his recognition of two fundamental instincts---the instinct of nutrition and the instinct of reproduction. Whether or not he was influenced by the evolutionary theory of his time, we do not know; but he was certainly aware of the fact that all living beings struggle for the preservation of the individual and the preservation of the race. In order to preserve the individual the accumulation of wealth is necessary, and in order to preserve the race, population must be increased. The increase of these two constitutes the es-

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27. For instance: In an argument with Cheng-tze, Moh-tze quoted Confucius. Cheng-tze said: "You are against Confucius. Why do you still quote him?" Moh-tze said: "This is what agrees with fact and therefore what you cannot change... Why can I not quote from Confucius?" Moh-tze: Works, Chap. XLVIII.
28. Ibid., Chap. XVIII, 13.
29. Ibid., Chap. XLVIII, 21.

sence of a good government.[30]

He did not disregard the significance of sentiment, but refused to yield to any sentimental extravagances in wasting wealth on such unproductive things as funerals.[31] He was also against music, because in his opinion, music did not add an iota to the national wealth and prosperity.[32] He vigorously condemned war, because war benumbed every sense of justice and righteousness and checked the progress of commerce and industry.[33] He attacked the old custom of concubinage because it eventually threatened

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30. Ibid., Chap. XX. He says: "When a philosopher-king governs a country, the wealth of the country can be doubled. It is doubled not at the expense of others, but by utilizing the country and by cutting off useless expenditure... What is it that is not easy to be doubled? It is the population that is not easy to be doubled. But there is a way to double it. In the average, one couple produce one child in every three years; then three children would have to be produced within this ten years. Therefore, if we make a law that all should marry early, how can the population fail to be doubled?" There is no wonder that China should have four hundred million population! But Moh-tze's marriage law is not so effective as Mencius' ethical code making it unfilial to have no children. However, one must imagine the situation as it was in the time of these philosophers when China was a little kingdom surrounded by barbarian tribes.

31. Ibid., Chap. XLVIII. He has a lengthy discussion on mourning, one passage suffices to show his attitude. "Kung Mung-tze said: "The three years mourning is an expression of our infantile feeling, which is the endless longing for the parents." Moh-tze said: "The child has no other knowledge besides the longing for parents. Therefore, when its parents are absent, it continues to cry. The cause of this fact is its extreme ignorance. The Confucianists are not even wiser than a child."

32. Ibid., Chap. XXXII.

33. Ibid., Chaps. XVII, XVIII, and XIX.

the growth of population.[34] He objected to the doctrine of fatalism because fatalism was a great obstacle in the way of progress and prosperity.[35]

Moh-tze sanctioned religion and advocated love. He wanted a love that would work and meet both the spiritual and the physical needs of mankind. The basis for such a love he found in a personified God who loves the people and wills that they should love each other accordingly; for all men, including the rulers, are subject to His will. Not only is religious sanction desirable but necessary for the state, which according to him should be governed by an aristocracy of the wisest and most virtuous. The empire is to be united around these superior men; the emperor is to be the head of this unifying process, by "following God".[36] Thus religion and state unite together working for all that is good and beneficial and removing all that is bad and harmful. It is clear that what he advocated and protested is entirely based on his conception of the importance of the instinctive desires, and of the iron necessity that drives man from behind to build up the whole fabric of culture as the indispensable

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34. Ibid., Chap. XXII.

35. Ibid., Chap. XXXVI.

36. Ibid., Chap. XI.

means for securing remote future pleasure.[37]

After the death of Moh-tze, his school was divided into three separate branches, and developed in two directions: one, religious, and the other, scientific. According to Dr. Hu Shih, Neo-Mohism as a school of scientific investigation and logical inquiry flourished about 325-250 B.C. "This is only school of Chinese thought," he says, "which has developed a scientific logic with both inductive and deductive methods. It has also advanced a theory of knowledge based on psychological analysis."[38] They began by saying that knowledge presupposes a knowing "ability" or intelligence.[39] Secondly, there is direct knowledge which is perception. "Direct knowledge is intelligent meeting its object and getting the form and shape thereof, as in seeing."[40] Thirdly, there is "mental knowledge" which is

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37. Recently some Chinese writers put out the theory that Moh-tze (Moh-Ti) was an Indian on the ground that moh means 'ink', 'dark', or 'black' and ti means 'foreigner', hence a 'dark-foreigner', and that his teaching is similar to the Hindus. It seems to me that such a theory is very absurd. Even such a brief summary of his teaching as given above shows that he has nothing in common with Hindu thought. His practical bend of mind id distinctively Chinese. His thought came close to Bentham, Mills, and James. His religious spirit is similar to that of Christianity. He advocated material progress, was interested in science. A number of inventions are ascribed to him and he was also a great engineer.

38. Op.cit., p. 61.

39. Moh-tze: Works, Chps. XXXII, 3; XXXIV, 3.

40. Ibid., Chaps. XXXII, 5; XXXIV, 5.

understanding. "It is intelligence reasoning about its object and knowing it clearly, as in understanding a thing (after seeing it)."[41] "Hearing is the faculty of the ear. But to follow what is heard and get the meaning thereof is the work of the mind. Speech is a faculty of the mouth. But to grasp the meaning of what is spoken is the distinguishing power of the mind."[42] Thus knowledge presupposes the cooperation of three factors: intelligence, perception, and understanding. This cooperation requires time and space. "A white and solid object can not be seen to be white and solid without duraction (which is the term applied by the Neo-Mohists in distinction of 'time' or 'times') and space. Its being seen as an object possessing both whiteness and solidity is because of these two factors."[43] That certain qualities are conceived as "inhering" together is due to space and duration. Otherwise, one may see whiteness through the eye, one may perceive solidity through the sense of touch, but one cannot see "a white, solid thing."[44] Memory is the retention of impressions which involve a time factor.

"We may know a thing without the five senses; that

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41. Ibid., Chap. XXXIV, 6.

42. Ibid., Chap. XXXII, 90, 91.

43. Ibid., Chap. XXXIII, 13, 14.

44. Ibid., Chaps. XXXIII, 4, 35; XXXV, 35.

is because of duration."[45] "Intelligence sees (a fire) through the eyes which see because of the fire. The fire is not known except through the senses. But after some duration of time, it can be seen without the eyes as well as if there were a real fire." Thus "retention" (memory) is because of duration.[46] We remember things by the aid of names. A name is a sign which represents the attributes of the thing or the group of things so named. The name 'fire' represents all the qualities of fire. So "when we see fire and say it is hot, it is not necessary for us to feel the heat of that fire."[47] For fire "must be hot; it is remembered so."[48]

Knowledge comprises learning, inference, and personal experience.[49] "Learning is that which is received through transmission. Inference is that which cannot be hindered by distance. Direct experience is that which is personally observed."[50] Discrimination and choice constitute the test of intelligence. "We may find out what a man does not know by asking him to choose by means of names."[51]

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45. Ibid., Chap. XXXIII, 45.

46. Ibid., Chap. XXXII, 50.

47. Ibid., Chap. XXXV, 46.

48. Ibid., Chap. XXXIII, 46.

49. Ibid., Chap. XXXII, 80.

50. Ibid., Chap. XXXIV, 80.

51. Ibid., Chap. XXXIII, 47.

For "what is to one as distinct as if it were actually seen is knowledge. Mix what he knows with what he does not know and ask him to say which things he knows and which he knows not. If he can do that he may be said to know both."[52]

Like all the previous thinkers they considered desire or conation to be the essential factor in human action. Knowledge may influence conduct, but human actions are not always guided by knowledge. Thus we read: "Conduct is the completion of knowledge, and is dependent upon desires."[53] Since "conduct is the end of knowledge and is dependent upon desires," right desiring will produce right conduct. But right desiring is in its turn dependent upon foresight, so the problem of right conduct is the problem of right knowing. Moral conduct is an art of evaluation which requires foresight. It is "weighing the heaviness and the lightness of actions" in order "to determine their right and wrong."

The above quotations suffice to show the intel-

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52. Ibid., Chap. XXXV, 47.

53. Ibid., Chap. XXXIII, 47.

lectual interests of the followers of Moh-tih.[54] It is not necessary to quote here their many formulae of mechanics and physics and their experiments with light, and so on. Persecuted, together with Confucianism, by the first Emperor of the Chin dynasty, and, after the founding of the Han Empire (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) by the resurrected Confucianists, it was never revived until the nineteenth century. A passage from Han Fei, a comtemporary of the Mohists, may give a glimpse of the reason why such a fruitful scientific movement came to an end. He said: "What is now called wisdom consists of subtle and speculative theories which even the wisest men do not quite understand... When you have not coarse rice to eat, think not of wine and meat. When you have not even rags to wear, think not of silk and embroidered garments... Now nothing is more detrimental to good government than to encourage what even the wisest do not quite understand when the actual need is common sense. Therefore, subtle and speculative theories are

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54. In the six books of Neo-Mohism the first book consists of ninety-two definitions. For example, definitions forty and forty-one say: "Duration extends over different times; space extends over different places." Definition 88 says: "A circle is that which has equidistant radii from its center." etc., etc. The second book consists of eighty-one general formulae. For instance: Section 16 says: "A shadow does not change its position; the reason is given under 'renewal'." Section 17 says: "Standing before a mirror, an object gives an inverted image, smaller in size than the original; the reason is given under 'concavity'", etc. The rest of the book is explanations of these definitions and formula, and also general science and logic.

no business of the people."[55]

We have constantly referred to Confucianism because we recognize in Confucianism a harmonious blending of all the predominant traits of the Chinese mind; otherwise it would not have been accepted as a national philosophy which has influenced almost every phase of Chinese culture since its first appearance. The development of the ante-Chin Confucianism seems to have attained its consummation in Mencius (372-289 B.C.). What Mencius did to Confucianism somewhat resembles what Chaung-tze did for Taoism or Paul for Christianity. To Confucius "men are by nature alike, but by practice they tend to get apart"; he expresses no opinion as to goodness or badness of original men. Now Mencius holds that man as a manifestation of sincerity must be good by nature; otherwise, how could he evolve goodness out of himself? "Man's impulse is to do good, for his nature is good. That he does not do good is not the fault of his natural faculty." "A feeling of sympathy everybody has; a feeling of shame everybody has; a feeling of deference everybody has; a sense of discrimination everybody has. The feeling of sympathy is humanity (Jen); the feeling of shame is justice (Yi); the feeling of deference is propriety (Li); and the sense of discrimination is intelligence. Humanity, justice, propriety,

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55. Han Fei Tze: Works, Chap. 49.

and intelligence are not what is moulded into us from without. They are inherent in us; only men are not conscious of them."[56]

Of these elementary sentiments making up the contents of goodness the first two, humanity and justice, seem to be more fundamental, for he says: "Humanity is the human heart, and justice is the human way. I pity those who digressing from the way do not walk in it, and those who abandoning the heart do not regain it."[57]

The Chinese character "Jen" (仁) has been rendered into English as "benevolence". Mr. Suzuki translates it into "Fellow-feeling", because the character is made out of the two component ideograms, "man" (人) and "two" (二), and its signification is that there is an inborn feeling in every man's heart, which is awakened to its full actuality when he comes in contact with another fellow-being, forming the permanent bond of association between them.[58] I propose here to translate it as "humanity" because its meaning is broader than mere fellow-feeling. This feeling of humanity, Confucius declares, is the foundation of society and the road to all human virtues. On the basis of an inborn sense of humanity, Mencius asserts the existence

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56. Mencius, Book IV, pt. 1.

57. Ibid.

58. D. T. Suzuki: History of Chinese Philosophy, p. 51.

of an altruistic impulse, which is not a modified development of egoism, but inherent in all mankind. Thus Mencius says: "Everybody has a feeling for others which he is unable to endure... Suppose a child is at the point of slipping down into a pit. It awakes in the spectators a mingled feeling of apprehension and compassion, which urges them to an immediate rescue of the child. They feel so, not as a ground on which they may seek the praise of their neighbours and friends, nor from a dislike to the reputation of having been unmoved by such a thing."[59] As Schopenhauer made sympathy (Mitleid) the foundation of his ethics, so Mencius considers humanity as the prime principle on which the grand edifice of human society is built.

Mencius divides the human spirit into two, the mind or will, consisting of the moral and intellectual powers, and the "passion-nature"[60] (the emotions, desires, and appetites) or Chi. This passion-nature subordinates to the will or mind, but pervades and animates the body.[61] It is, however, also possible for the passion-nature to control the will. The ideal is to maintain a firm will and do no violence to the active powers or passion-nature. Yet the active powers should be vigorous and the mind clear and pure, and then we shall have the man whom nothing external

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59. Mencius, Book II, p. 6.

60. Book II, pt. I 6, Legge's translation.

61. Book II, pt. I, 9.

can disturb.[62] He also describes this passion-nature or Chi as filling the universe, Therefore Professor Suzuki makes the suggestion that this Chi can be freely translated "universal energy" or "impulse that awakens, stimulates, and accelerates activity", it is a kind of psychical agency which animates life on this earth; it is the nervous system of the Macrocosm.[63] But Mencius did not use the term in such a broad sense; he limited its sphere and value of activity to our moral life.

The distinctive contribution of Mencius is his exposition of the inborn feeling of humanity, on which he puts forth his famous doctrine of "Universal voice" or "Vox populi, vox dei", "Heaven sees as the people see; Heaven hears as the people hear." Thus Confucian humanism finally won a general acceptance and both hedonism and utilitarianism were defeated.

But Mencius' theory of the original goodness of human nature is virulently attacked by Hsun-tse (about 300-235 B.C.), who, while a Confucian, is always considered apart from the school. According to him, "Man is by nature wicked, his goodness is the result of nurture."[64] "A piece of metal needs forging and polishing in order to become sharp. A man who is by nature wicked needs teaching and

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62. Book II, Pt. I 9.
63. Op.cit., p. 24.
64. Hsun-tze, Chap. XXIII.

discipline in order to be right... The ancient rules understood the native viciousness of man... and therefore created morals and laws and institutions in order that human instincts and impulses might be disciplined."[65]

Hsuntze considers desire as one of the fundamental elements of human nature.[66] Dr. Dubs, through whom Hsuntze's work was made known to the West, says: "It was in an analysis of desire that Hsuntze was led into a psychological analysis of the individual which was perhaps one of his most original pieces of work."[67] We have seen that the problem of desire has engaged the mind of all the previous Chinese thinkers, but to Hsuntze is owed a clear conception of desire as being both the purposeive aspect of action and the human seeking for satisfaction. "It is of the purposeive direction of life," says Dr. Dubs, "that Hsuntze is thinking when he said, 'The emotional nature is the essence of human nature.' Hsuntze's ethics bears out this emphasis, it is the ethics of human beings who are acting, willing, purposing, desiring, hating, and not a relam of eternal, unearthly moral judgements."[68]

The problem of desire was a legacy left by Laetze

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65. Chap. XXIII, 5.

66. Chapters XXII, 11, 12.

67. H. H. Dubs: Hsuntze---The Moulder of Ancient Confucianism, p. 6.

68. Op.cit., p. 51.

to Chinese thought, but he and his followers, Chaung-tze, Lieh-tze, and others, advocated the living of an instinctive life, so that men's wants would be few and consequently honesty and uprightness would prevail. This problem was raised to prominence by Suntze, probably a member of one of the minor schools into which Mohism split after the death of Moh-tze, who advanced the theory that the curbing of desires is not contrary to nature, but in accordance with nature, inasmuch as the desires themselves prefer the moderate, rather than the violent. His argument seems to have been that men do not like the extremes of bright bolour, loudness, etc., hence their passions seek little and not much, simplicity not multiplicity.[69] Mencius also sets forth a similar view that "for the culture of the mind, there is nothing better than making the desires few."[70] Contrary to this attitude of his day, Hsuntze held that desire is a fundamental fact of human nature; it is an innate quality of every human being and cannot be removed. Human nature is the product of Nature; the emotional nature is the essence of human nature; desires are the reactions of the emotional nature. The quantity of desires depends on the innate strength of the emotions, not on self-control or disorderly conduct. Hence any attempt to lessen

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69. Hsuntze, Dubs' translation, p.115.

70. Mencius, Book VII, II, XXXV.

the desires themselves is bound to fail because of these facts of original human nature. As a Confucianist, his view is by no means unorthodox, for Confucius was in favour of the expression of passion and the satisfaction of desires, but desires should be satisfied in the right way[71] and the refraining from desires is not necessarily "Jen" (humanity or Virtue).[72]

Now Hsuntze accepts Mencius' divisions of the human spirit into two, but he substitutes the term "Chi" for "desire" or "emotion". For him the dichotomy of the soul is into the "mind" or "will" and the "desires" or "emotions". This is somewhat similar to the threefold division of the soul by Plato: the reasoning part and two passionate parts, the will and the appetites. Hsuntze keeps the reason and will together as the mind, and separates off only the appetites or emotions.

The mind can control the desires without removing them or lessening them. "The mind is the ruler of th e body and the master of the spirit. It gives commands and all parts of the body obey. It itself makes prohibitions; it itself gives commands; it itself makes decisions; it itself makes choices; it itself causes action; it itself

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71. Analects, IV, v, 1.

72. Ibid., XIV, 2.

stops action."[73] "The mind selects from among the emotions by which it is moved---this is called reflection."[74] It is through this power of reflection and choice that the mind can control the desires. The development of character is through this sort of choice or reflection; through the continuation of this process even perfection can be attained.

But how can the mind make a right choice? To this Hsuntze answers that the mind needs to be guided by principle. Here one sees clearly the difference between the view of Hsuntze and that of Mencius. Mencius is opposed to external discipline, but emphasizes the importance of self-acquisition in learning or self-development. Hsuntze, on the other hand, sees the importance of nurture. Thus he says: "That in man which cannot be learned or made is called human nature. That in man which can be acquired through learning or making is called nurture."[75] Under nature are classed all instincts,---hunger, sex, anger, etc.,---and all sensations---sight, hearing, taste, smell, etc. "Therefore," says Hsuntze, "human nature is the original foundation and raw material, while nurture (Wei) means refinement and culture. If not for the original nature, nurture would have nothing to apply itself to; and

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73. Hsuntze: Works, Chap. XXI, 1.

74. Ibid., Chap. XXII, 1.

75. Ibid., Chap. XXIII, 3.

if not for nurture, the original nature would fail to polish itself. Through the cooperative adjustment of the two, we have a class of people called the wise, and the consolidation of the empire is thereby effected. Therefore, I say that as all things are created through the union of heaven and earth... the peace of the empire is obtained through the cooperative adjustment of the original nature and nurture."[76]

According to Hsuntze human nature is fundamentally not much different, and the difference lies in the ability of man to adapt himself to environment. "We may stand a-tip-toe as high as possible; but it is far better to go up to some height and look around far and wide. Climb up higher and wave your hands; your arms have not gained an inch, but they are seen from afar. Raise your voice in the direction of the wind; it is not necessarily strong, but it can be heard distinctly. Wise men do not differ in their nature from others. What makes them wise is due to their adaptation to the environment. Therefore wise men are particular in choosing their place of dwelling and their associates, for things are grouped according to their congeniality. Let us study all the records bequeathed by our ancient sages and practice them in our daily life."[77]

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76 Ibid., Chap. XIX, 6.

77. Ibid., Chap. I, 11.

Hsuntze believes in the uniformity of nature and denies the theory of evolution. Progress has come about, not through any fundamental mutation of human nature but through the "accumulation" of acquired characteristics. "Mountains are formed by accumulation of earth, seas by accumulation of waters... A sage is therefore the ordinary man who has accumulated. Man becomes a farmer by accumulated experience in farming... A man becomes a Chu by living long in Chu... All this not because nature is so, but because the gradual influence of accumulated experience has made him so."[78]

Progress therefore is the result of accumulated nurture, the triumph of education over nature. Such progress as man has achieved does not come from blind, automatic, and aimless groping. It has always been the outcome of conscious effort, and intelligent direction, and is dependent on leadership and ideas. One may ask, "Why have so few become sages and virtuous men if men all desire happiness and honor, and if human nature is fundamentally about the same in instincts, desires and native capacities?" To this Hsuntze's answer is: "Because of shortsightedness". "Shortsightedness is the most universal evil of the world and the greatest disaster of mankind."[79] "All men are born

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78. Ibid., Chap. VIII, 2.

79. Ibid., Chap. IV, 5.

common men. Without teachers and ideals (師法), they can only see the immediately gratifying things... He who has never seen fine and delicious food, will always be contended with his swine rations. When some one shows him some best food, he may even stare at it in astonishment. But when he has once experienced the truly gratifying effects of the new food, he will never again be satisfied with his former swine rations... It is the benevolent sages who delight in telling and in enlightening people. By telling and enlightening people, by gradually influencing them, and by constantly reminding them, they will be able to make the biased people open-minded, the short-sighted wise, and the ignorant intelligent."[80]

"Hsuntze is the most psychological of all the ancient Chinese philosophers," says Dr. Dubs, "and the keenness of his insight is shown in the startling modernness of his analysis. In the problem of desire and in that of terms and definitions, he goes deep intp psychology."[81] His analysis of senses comes close to our present analysis; he noted the facts of illusion and classified emotions, and so on. "Most remarkable of all," says Dr. Dubs, "is that Hsuntze in one place mentions the 'stimulus and response relation'[82] and 'impulse'[83] and indeed

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80. Hsuntze, Works, Chap. IV, 10.

81. Op.cit., p. 177.

82. Ibid., Chap. XXII, 1.

83. Ibid., Chp.XIX, 21.

implies this concept throughout his psychologizing."[84]

Confucius, Mencius, and Hsuntze may be compared with their contemporary Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Both Hsuntze and Aristotle are interested in psychology, in the analysis of experience. But Hsuntze had not the scientific spirit of seeking for knowledge for its own sake; his psychological insights only came as by-products in the solution of some greater problem, such as that of the control of desire or of the ethical implications. The second defect of Hsuntze's system of thought is his denial of the theory of evolution and the neglect of the study of nature. He criticizes the naturalists (Taoists):

> "You glorify Nature and meditate on her:
> Why not domesticate her and regulate her?
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> You obey Nature and sing her praise:
> Why not control her course and use it?
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> . . . . . .
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> Therefore, I say: To neglect man and speculate about Nature
> Is to misunderstand the facts of the Universe."[85]

The third defect is his emphasis on the depravity of human nature which ran encounter to Chinese sentiment and led to the condemnation of his teaching by the great authority, Chu Hsi.

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84. Op.cit., p. 179.

85. Op.cit., Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

Between these two opposite views, original goodness and natural depravity, there arose the school of the philosopher Kauo who held that man's nature is neither good nor bad. He says: "Man's nature is like water whirling round in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west."[86] There are in man natural possibilities which can be developed in various ways. "Man's nature is like the 'Ke' willow, and the righteousness is like a cup or a bowl. The fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of man's nature is like making cups and bowls from the 'ke' willow."[87] The normal development of human nature depends to a great extent upon the forms of training, for "man's nature may be made to practice good and it may be made to practice evil."[88]

Both Hsun-tze and Kauo's theories were rejected by the Chinese and the theory of original goodness won a general acceptance. In the West the theory of natural depravity was once quite generally accepted because of the influence of Christian theology. The idea of a saviour is

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86. Mencius: Works, Book IV, Pt. I.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

fundamental for this religion, and hence that man needs to be saved and converted implies the original viciousness of man. In China it is the moral conduct that is important. Man has no other support than the original goodness of his nature, which if guided properly may develop normally from within. As a result of the increasing influence of education and intellectual activities in the West the third theory gradually gains ground, because it demands wise and careful training to bring forth a fuller and more abundant life.

This remarkable Ante-Chin period was brought to a close by the First Emperor of the Chin dynasty (255-206 B.C.), who destroyed the feudal system and persecuted all schools of thought. The reaction of the Han dynasty (206B.C.-221 A.D.) brought Confucianism into power. The authority of Confucius was for the first time held supreme, and the classics held in profound veneration. It was the period of critical expounders of orthodoxy, fine historians, editors of the classics, astronomers, astrologers, and alchemists. But no great original thinkers were found as in the period before Chin.[89]

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89. Wang Chung (A.D. 27-97) was perhaps the only skeptical philosopher who tilted against the errors of the age, and exposed even Confucius and Mencius to free and searching criticisms. He showed that the soul could neither exist after death as a spirit nor exercise any influence upon the living men. When the body decomposes, the soul, a phenomenon inseparable from vitality, perishes with it.

It was during the Tang period (618-907 A.D.) that the influence of Buddhist thought became felt, and it was also during this period that the Chinese monk Hsuan Tsung made his two journeys to India, in 629 and 645 A.D., and brought back large quantities of the Buddhist cannon for translation into Chinese. To give a detailed account of the Buddhist conceptionof human nature would, however, be outside the scope of this chapter, since it does not represent genuine Chinese thought.[90] As a result of the intellectual and religious interests of the Chinese monks, however, Buddhism in China has undergone a considerable change though its main features are still kept intact.

In the first place, a special emphasis is laid on human nature. Matsu, the most influential leader of the Chinese Buddhists of the ninth century, thus addressed his disciples: "You believe that the mind (心) itself is Buddha (intelligence). Bodhidharma came to China, and taught the method of the heart, that you might be enlightened... The true method is to have no method. Out of Buddha there is no mind... To have a sensation of an object is nothing but to become conscious of the mind's own activity. The mind does not know itself, because it is blinded by the sensations." He was asked, by what means excellence in religion should be attained? He replied: "Religion does

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90. For Buddhist Psychology see Mrs. Rhys David's Works.

not consist in the use of means. To use means is fatal to the attainment of the object." Then what, he was again asked, is required to be done in order to secure religious advancement? "Human nature in itself," he said, "is sufficient for its own wants. All that is needed is to avoid both vice and virtue. He that can do this is a religious man."[91] This is clearly Laotze's and Chaung-tze's conception of human nature and their doctrine of non-action. How different it is from the popular teaching of Buddhism in the first centuries of its history in China, the main emphasis of which was on retribution and the future life!

In the second place, there is also the emphasis on the goodness of human nature. Chui Kai, the founder of the Tendai, the best known Buddhist school in China and Japan, explained the nature of the Sutra, the Lotus of the Good Law: "As Lotus grows out of the mire and yet preserves its freshness and purity, so the doctrine of this book, the good law, assists men to retain their original nature unsullied and undisturbed amidst the misery and corruption around them."[92] This is simply the carrying out of Mencius' doctrine instead of insisting on the Buddhist conception of fundamental evil of human desire. In order to adapt itself to the Chinese culture, Buddhism has not only modified it-

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91. Biography of Eminent Buddhists, Vol. III, p. 72. Quoted by Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, pp. 129-130.

92. Edkins, Ibid., p. 180.

self, but has adopted fundamental Chinese ideas even when they are inconsistent with its own objectives.

In the third place, the Buddhists recognize the true development of human nature. Chi Kai's "Four modes of Contemplation", i.e., accumulation, progress, distinction, and completion is essentially Chinese thought. With regard to "progress", there are ten steps, viz,, unproductive knowledge, moral nature awakening, the eight convictions of the true sage, perception, first advances, conquest of passions, the wrong set right, the Pratyeka Buddha, the Bodhisattva, and the Buddha. Chi Kai's detailed classification and division of Buddhist doctrine shows also his Chinese trait, quite similar to the methods of divisions used by Mencius and Hsuntze. Throughout the whole Buddhist literature, however, is found the symmetrical classification of doctrine, in round numbers, and this suggests a resemblance to the habits of the European schoolmen. Aside from the metaphysics and philosophy which are inherent in the teachings of Buddha and the contribution to philology, mathematics, and fine art, the great and governing influence of Buddhism in China indirectly caused and stimulated a new birth of Chinese thought.

Though the Tang dynasty saw the zenith of the external power of China yet in the Sung period (A.D. 960-1280) which follows one touches an even higher level of culture. Its three hundred years form a Golden Age of art

and literature, in which the dominating influence is to be found in the philosophy of Chu Hsi (1130-1200 A.D.). It is not easy to describe Chu Hsi's system briefly and clearly, for the main reason that the principal terms he used often possess a variety of meanings. As Dr. Bruce[93] points out, there is, however, a striking similarity between his idea and Bergson's theory of Elan Vital. The first thing to be noted is that he starts with a dualism, li (reason or law) and Chi (impulse or energy).[94] Li and Chi interpenetrate each other. Neither is the one apart from the other. At the origin of all things there is this compound entity, undifferentiated Chi indwelt by li. This entity revolves and differentiates itself into two modes. From these modes emerge the five agents, and so, by continuous process of differentiation, there develops the multiplicity of existent things. The process of evolution, however, does not go on indefinitely in a straight line. It is circular, moving from its starting point to a culmination and then returning to the starting point again.

The second point to be noted is that from the point of view of the Chi as one, men and other creatures all come into being by receiving this one Chi. "From the

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93. J. B. Bruce, Chu Hsi and his Masters, p. 222. Dr. Bruce also translates Chu Hsi's Philosophy of Human Nature into English.

94. This "Li" (理) should not be confused with "Li" (禮) that means rite or propriety. Chi is the term that Mencius used; Suzuki translates it into Universal Energy.

point of view of the varying degrees of fineness the Chi as received by men is perfect and free from impediment; as received by other Creatures it is imperfect and impedes."[95] This theory Chu Hsi illustrates in considerable detail, showing how, for example, the differences between species, and between man and other creatures are due to the predominance of one of the two modes of chi as the case may be.[96]

The third point to be noted is the relation between li and chi in individual things. Li, the immanent law of the whole process, is one and unaltered in every existent individual---man, animal, plant, or stone. For example, the affection between parent and offspring in tigers and wolves, and the relation between sovereign and subject in ants and bees, he maintains, show that the same law is present though partial and warped.[97] Even plant life shows by its sensitiveness to injury that it is akin to ourselves, as Chou Tzu felt when he refrained from clearing the grass from the front of his window because it manifested the same shrinking from death that he himself possessed.[98]

Now everywhere and in all things li is present.

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95. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Bl. XLII, f. 31. (Bruce: Philosophy of Human Nature, p. 67.)

96. Ibid., f. 8. (P.H.N., p. 20.)

97. Ibid., f. 31 (P.H.N., p. 68.)

98. Ibid., f. 30 (P.H.N., p. 66.)

The differences between species and between individuals in each species are due to differences in their chi, as described above. This explanation of difference is especially to be noted in connection with moral differences among men. Chu Hsi, among other illustrations of the relation of li and chi, uses one of a mat-shed into which the sunlight penetrates more or less according to the coarseness or fineness of the matting. So it is that li, which is immanent in all things, shines through them as their chi permits, and is most fully illustrated in man, in and through whose chi it reveals itself as moral principle, love and the other cardinal virtues being its manifestations.

Moreover, man, in receiving chi thus perfectly and unimpeded possesses certain fundamental ethical principles each in their perfection and all in harmony and mutual poise. In other words, that which differentiates man from the brute is his possession of the Mean or Equilibrium, that perfect balance of the elements in the constitution of his nature on which, as we have seen, Confucius laid a special stress. To sum up in Chu Hsi's own words: "It is not the case," he says, "that man, as the being possessed of the highest intellect stands alone in the Universe. His mind is also the mind of birds and beasts, of grass and trees. Man, however, is born endowed with the Mean, the attribute of Heaven and Earth."[99]

A few more words need be said about Chu Hsi's conception of mind. Incidentally he points out that mind is consciousness[100] and that mind is that which has consciousness.[101] But this does not go very far. The key to Chu Hsi's ideas is in these two statements; the first is: "Its substance is termed flux"; and the second is: "Mind is the chi in its purity and brightness." The first explains more particularly the relation of mind to the nature and the feelings, and the second its relation to the body. "Consciousness is a continuum, but a continuum which consists of a succession of states of consciousness. As Confucius standing by a stream, said of nature---of which mind is the manifesting vehicle---: "It passes on just like this not ceasing day or night;"[102] so of the mind itself,---that is, states of consciousness follow one upon the other in an unbroken flux.

According to him, there is on the one hand Nature, which is purely Li or Law, and on the other hand there are feelings which are Li and Chi combined. Between them is Mind as the connecting link.[103] "The Mind is like the seed-

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100. Chu Hsi Works, XLIV, f. 2 (P.H.N., p. 159).

101. Ibid., f. 11 (P.H.N., p. 177).

102. Analects, IX, 16.

103. The whole of the first section of Bk. IV in his Philosophy of Human Nature is devoted to this subject.

corn: the principle of life contained in it is the Nature; the putting forth of life on the part of the positive chi is Feeling."[104] Thus the mind is the nexus between the immaterial principle and its manifestation in consciousness. In view of such intimate relation to Nature, it is not surprising that the mind is spoken of also as life, and the principle of life.[105] The Nature is the seat of life, and the Mind is the organ of its manifestation, while the manifestation itself is in the Feelings.

Like other Chinese philosophers Chu Hsi in his system of thought never departs from ethics or moral principles. He emphasized the uniformity of Nature, but the uniformity which he saw was an ethical uniformity. In other words, he attributed the uniformity to an all-pervading ethical principle. Thus everything in Nature is the manifestation of moral law. No modern thinker would allow probative force to an analogy between the four Seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, and the four Virtues, love, righteousness, reverence, wisdom. It has already been said that India has gone mad on religion and found divinities everywhere. China is indeed intoxicated with ethics and finds ethical significance in everything. No science can progress under such a curious notion of morality

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104. Ching-tze's illustration quoted in Ibid., Bk. XIV, f. 4.

105. Ibid., Bk. X, f. 9.

and ethics.

The Mongol Conquest brought this most enlightened Sung period to a tragic end. The eighty-eight years of the powerful Mongols' reign (1280-1368) did not, however, add much to Chinese culture though it added extension of territory. The culture that Marco Polo described was really Sung's culture, which stimulated Columbus and the other great discoverers to seek a way to the East. The expansion of Islam stretched, for a long time, an impassable barrier across Western Asia. Had China come closer in contact with the more enlightened races of Europe the history of Chinese thought would have been different from what it is.

The influence of Chu Hsi's thought continued to grow. His latest English student, Professor Percy Bruce, says of him that he is "the philosopher whose teachings have done more than almost any other to mould the thought of the Chinese race. To him may be traced modes of thought and expression which may be observed among all classes from peasants to literate: their mental outlook has been formed in a matrix of the philosophy of which he is the chief exponent."[106]

In Japan Chu Hsi's teachings have wielded an even

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106. Chu Hsi and His Masters, p. 16.

greater influence than in China. "To the question which has so often been asked during the past few years," says Dr. Inoye Tetsujiro, "whence comes the Japanese fine ethical standard, the answer is that it undoubtedly originated with the teaching of Chu Hsi as explained, modified, and carried into practice in Japan... In the enormous importance it attached to self culture and what is known in modern terminology as self-realization, the teaching of the Chu Hsi school of Japanese Moralists differed in no material respects from the doctrine of the New Kantians of England."[107] But Chu Hsi's thought did not pass unchallenged. In the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) which succeeded the Mongol rule, the revolt against his teaching was led by a most brilliant Confucian scholar, Wang Yung Ming (1472-1528).

When the philosophers of the Sung dynasty, especially the Cheng brothers, sought to revive the Confucian philosophy, they discovered a little book of 1750 words entitled "Ta Hsuch" ("The Great Learning"), the main thesis of which is that the very beginning and foundation of the whole moral achievement is "the investigation of things." Now, this phrase Chu Hsi explains as "exhausting by explanation the principles of things and affairs with the design

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107. Quoted by F. Brinkley in his A History of the Japanese People, p. 628.

that the uttermost points may be reached." In all the ardour of youth Wang Yang Ming attempted to carry out the programme. He set a friend of his to investigate the bamboo. After three days his mental energy was exhausted and he fell sick. Wang said that it was because his strength was insufficient, and himself took up the investigation. But after seven days he also became ill. So he and his friend mutually sighed and said: "We cannot be either sages or virtuous men, for we lack the great strength required to carry on the investigation of things."[108]

The barrenness and futility of this method forces Wang to meditate, and one night it suddenly dawned upon his mind that what the sages meant by the word "Ke" in the phrase "Ke Wu", was not "to investigate into" as the Sung philosophers maintained, but "to rectify" in the sense of Mencius' saying, "The great man rectifys the mind of his prince."[109] The doctrine "Ke Wu" must thus be taken to mean "to remove from the mind that which is not right and to restore its original nature of rightness" in short to bring forth the "intuitive knowledge" of the mind.

Upon this discovery he founded a new school holding that every individual may understand the fundamental principles of life and of things, including moral laws, by

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108. See Wang Yang Ming: Records of Discourses, Translated by Henke, p. 16.

109. Ibid., p. 59.

learning to understand his own mind, and by developing his own nature. Each individual has the solution of the problem of the universe within himself. The individual has the spring of accurate knowledge within his own nature, and should constantly carry into practice the things that his intuitive knowledge of good gives them opportunity to do, for there can be no real knowledge without action.

His teaching may become clear by making a comparison with that of Chu Hsi.

(1) According to Chu Hsi it is necessary to make an extensive investigation of the world and its laws before determining what is the moral law. Wang's view is that man's knowledge of moral law precedes all study and that a man's knowledge of himself is the very highest kind of learning. Chu's method may be said to be inductive; Wang's, deductive.

(2) In Chu Hsi's system, the primary principle, "Li", and the mind of man were quite separate, and the latter was attached to the chi. Wang held that the mind of man and the principle of the universe were one and the same, and argued that no study of external Nature was required in order to find out Nature's laws. To discover these, man had only to look within his own heart. He that understands his own heart understands nature, says Wang.

(3) Chu Hsi taught that knowledge must come first; conduct after. Wang contended that knowledge and conduct

cannot be separated. One is part of the other. Chu Hsi may be said to have exalted learned theories and principles, and Wang to have extolled practical knowledge.

At least indirectly Wang's thought was influenced by the teaching of Zennism and that of Leih-tze, though he criticized severely both the views of Buddhists and Taoists.[110] It is this new emphasis on inner-heart that has been blamed by modern Chinese for China's failure to advance in the scientific understanding of nature.

In Japan the rivalry between Chu and Wang's teachings was more far-reaching than in their native land. Wang finally became the father of modern Japanese thought. Of the members of Wang's school in Japan, Dr. Inoye Tetsu-jiao says: "They were as a class fine specimens of humanity, abreast, if not ahead, of the age in which they lived. No system of teaching has produced anything approaching such a number of remarkable men. If a tree is to be judged by its fruit, Wang's philosophy in Japan must be pronounced one of the greatest benefits that she received from the neighbouring continent, though not a little of its power in this country is to be traced to the personality of the man who was the first to make it thoroughly known to his fellow countrymen, Nakaye Toju. He adds: "The integrity

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110. Wang Yang Ming, Works, Bk. III.

of heart preached by his followers in Japan has become a national heritage of which all Japanese are proud.[111]

Both Chu Hsi and Wang Yang Ming, however, agreed that the word "Wu" (thing) meant also "affairs". This humanistic interpretation of one word has, according to Dr. Hu Shih, determined the whole nature and scope of modern Chinese philosophy. It has limited philosophy to the realm of human "affairs" and relations. Chinese thought became purely confined to problems of moral and political philosophy, and was thus unable to contribute anything to the development of sciences in China.

This brief survey of the Chinese intellectual traditions shows the operation of the following factors:

(1) The inter-state rivalries in the Ante-Chin period stimulated the spirit of enquiry. There was no established faith; Confucius and Lao-tze were yet regarded as ordinary scholars or men of virtue. But as soon as their teachings became sacred laws there was no chance for the creative and original mind to rise.

(2) The slow progress of Chinese thought was to a great extent due to the lack of foreign influence, and the only impetus that China ever received was from India, but it did not in any way encourage the scientific study. In his "Chinesische Philosophie", Dr. Hackmann indicates

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111. F. Brinkly: A History of the Japanese People, p. 630.

that the Sung and Ming systems were the results of foreign influence and not the products of purely native genius. But practically all the great systematic philosophers of the West were influenced by foreign currents of thought. What would Kant have been without the influence of the English Empiricists?

(3) The intellectual activities of the Chinese have been always enchained by moralistic and humanistic interests. In order to become adapted to the scientific needs of modern China the revival of Chinese thought must be brought about by emancipating itself from the fetters of an unscientific humanism.

(4) The undue emphasis on the inner life has drawn the Chinese mind away from the objective study of Nature. It has led to the cultivation of a contempt for material development and the attitude of indifference toward everything.

According to Count Keyserling, there is a possibility of progress not only of ability, but also of Being. "Just as the West," he says, "has created the highest culture of Ability, ancient China has created the highest universal culture of Being hitherto known. Its spirit is determinant even today."[112] One would wonder whether there is really any progress of Being, There is hardly any

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112. Count H. Keyserling.: Creative Understanding, p. 203.

progress of innate qualities of man. Even moral progress, if there is any, must come by the stimulation of intellect and the increase of knowledge. The fruitless enquiry into moral nature or Being must be responsible in some way for China's failure to keep up her intellectual traditions toward human progress. Intellectual tradition does not consist only of thoughts or ideas, but also of ability to use intelligence for the invention of necessary and effective tools. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

STABILIZATION AND STAGNATION OF CHINESE CULTURE

It is becoming more and more apparent that the spiritual part of civilization is to a large degree dependent upon the material side of civilization. The essential element in this material basis of culture is mechanical art. Man is a tool-making animal, and the making of tools sets man off sharply from other animals.[1] Also the ability of tool-making differentiates the culture of the East from that of the West,[2] and the culture of the civilized world from that of the uncivilized.

Furthermore the rise of human society and the subjugation of nature depends wholly upon man's intelligence in using tools. "Man must enslave natural things" says Panku, the great Chinese historian, "in order to provide for his nourishment. He cannot fight with his hand and eat with his mouth as can the beast. He must borrow materials from outside. Trusting to his intelligence and not to his physical strength, he is the noble being."[3]

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1. C. Wissler, Man and Culture, p. 89.

2. See Dr. Hu Shih's The Civilization of the East and and the West, in Whither Mankind, edited by C. A. Beard, pp. 25-41.

3. History of Han, Chap. XXIII.

But according to Confucius the origin of implements is not in man's conquering of, but rather his humble imitation of nature. The use of implements and tool-making are considered as useful arts which are closely related to fine arts (music and poetry) and to social arts (rites). Thus he says: "It is heaven and earth that furnish models and patterns. ---It is the sages that prepare the things for practical use, and invent instruments for the benefit of the world."[4] He tried to show in the Book of Change that the trigrams originated in the symbolization of nature and that the important inventions of the ancients all originated under the suggestion of the different symbols represented by varied combinations of the trigrams. For instance, the symbol of penetrating of wood from above and the growth below suggests the art of agriculture. The phenomenon of wood floating on water suggested the idea of constructing a boat. The combination of the symbol of satisfaction above and the movement below led the Yellow Emperor to utilize animals to work for men. He cited many other examples to show how the inventions were made by observing natural phenomena. Such a humanistic interpretation of the history of inventions has had a great influence on the Chinese mind, showing submissiveness toward nature rather than the attitude of as-

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4. Yi-King Appendix III, Sec. 1, Chap. 72.

sertion and conquest.

Like Plato and Aristotle he considers all implements of civilization as coming from ideas or ideal patterns suggested by nature. "When conceived they are called ideas (or symbols); when materially embodied, they are called implements; when instituted for general use, they are called laws. When wrought into the everyday life of all the people, they are called the works of the gods."[5] They are all for the advancement of life. They are not produced by the artisan at randon, but are devised by the sages with definite purpose and profound wisdom.

The great significance attached by the early Chinese to practical ideas is shown by the fact that all their legendary kings are inventors not priests or warriors. Thus Yu Chao (the next dwellers), taught men to forsake the tree-dwellings and holes in the ground for houses built by the hands of craftman; Sui Jen[6] (the producer of fire) taught them to produce fire by friction;

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5. Yiking, Appendix III, Sec. II, Chap. 11.

6. Sui Jen discovered the fiery element by looking up the stars, and learnt how to make fire from watching a bird producing sparks when pecking a tree. Given this example he rubbed two pieces of wood together until they caught fire. Sui Jen is often called the Prometheus of China, but it is significant of Chinese mind that he is not thought to have stolen the fires from the gods and brought it to man.

Pao Hsi[7] (2852-2783) is the teacher of the domestication of animals and the inventor of picture writing; Shen-nung (the Divine Farmer, 2737-2705 B.C.) is the reputed discoverer of agriculture and medicine; and there are others. Their mystical account of the ten periods of cultural advance, each represented by one distinctive inventor shows the upward path of mankind in the evolutionary process through all kinds of discoveries adding to the comfort of life.

It is not surprising then to see the early rise of discovery and invention when Chinese culture was not yet crystalized into humanistic form. The enumeration of early Chinese inventions and discoveries is not our task. There is little doubt about the origin of the compass,[8]

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7. Pao means kitchen and Hsi means domestic animal, hence the inventor of cookery and the domestication of animal. He is also a reputed inventor of calendar, musical instrument, and also of the marriage institution.

8. Some Chinese books assert that a compass was used to guide war-chariots across the desert as early as 2600 B.C. But the war is legendary and the assertion is groundless. The more authentic record of the "South pointing Vehicle" is in 1100 B.C. Opposed to the views of the previous investigators, Hashimoto points out that the "south pointing vehicle" has no relation to compass, and that the loadstone may have been known separately in the West and East, but the magnetic needle, its deviation and perhaps their application to nagivation were discovered in China for the first time. There is no reliable evidence, however, to decide whether the knowledge in China had some relation to that in Arabia and Europe. M. Hoshimoto: Origin of Compass, in the Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tokyo Bunko, 1926, pp. 66-92.

movable type,[9] and gun-powder,[10] the Chinese records of them being the earliest. These inventions have certainly revolutionized human life and must be considered as among the most marvellous civilizing agencies in the world's history. "It is rather startling to observe" says Professor Carter, "that the three inventions----paper, the compass, and gun-powder---which lie most immediately and obviously back of Europe's modern age all rest upon Chinese inventions."[11] It seems, however, that besides paper the others were independent inventions in Europe, showing the parallelism of the human mind in East and West. Moreover mere priority in invention and discovery without subsequent efforts to improve and perfect the original crudities can only be a matter for regret, certainly not for vain glory. In Europe the loadstone or magnetic needle has developed into the perfect mariner's compass while in China no improvement has been made since its first appearance several thousand years ago. In the Wes-

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9. Wang Chieh (868 A.D.) is the first known printer of books. By 953 A.D. all the texts of Confucian classics were printed. Movable types however were not invented until 1051 A.D. See T. F. Carter: The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward, Columbia Press, 1925.

10. Fire-arms began with the use of rockets in the dynasty of Chou (B.C. 1122-255). In the defence of Kai Fen Fu cannon was used against the Mongols (1232 A.D.) There were varieties of small guns during Sun dynasty (960-1278 A.D.). See W. P. Martin, Lore of Cathay, pp. 23-32.

11. Carter, T. F.: Op.cit., p. 35.

tern world alchemy has expanded into a vast body of science while in China it continues to be an occult art laden with all the superstitions of the middle age.[12]

There are certain Chinese discoveries and inventions however, which served as a means of cultural contact between the East and West and have made China known to the Western World. The discovery of the art of paper-making in 105 A.D.[13] not only opened the way for the spread of Chinese literature from Turkestan to the Pacific Ocean and the Southern Sea, but also, through the Arabs, brought the knowledge of China to Europe. The importation of silk to Europe started a real cultural contact, though the Parthians, Persians and Arabs monopolized the silk trade and frustrated every effort of the West to get into direct touch with the Chinese. Curiously enough, such less significant Chinese things as tea, lacquerwares, porcelains and other similar articles seem to have become a more effective means of bringing China closer to the West, arousing the attention, curiosity, and admiration of the European people. During the eighteenth century the Western

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12. Mely, F. de, L'alchimie chez les chinois et l'alchemie grecque. See also Martin, op.cit., chapter on Chinese alchemy.

13. The Arabs learned the arts of paper-making from Chinese prisoners taken at Samarakand. The secret was passed on by Moorish subjects to Spanish conquerors in the 12th century and 13th centuries. "China has continued to furnish new development in paper manufacture, both the so-called 'India paper' and 'paper manche' having introduced from China into the West during the 19th century." (Carter, op.cit.)

world adopted various chinoiseries in art and thought. Literature further stimulated these trends. At the beginning of that century there had appeared in Paris the celebrated "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus" consisting of the translations of part of the Chinese classics and this was followed by a number of scholastic works on China.

Most of the ancient discoveries and inventions, however, were lost, and only some traces of them are left in the historical records. Of those which have been preserved, only a few have ever attained a higher development. The reasons for this arrest of mechanical and scientific development in China have never been definitely stated. The factors that contribute to the stagnation of Chinese culture are many: there is no one single factor that can be assigned as the main cause. Before giving our interpretation let us first examine those factors which have generally been taken to be the fundamental cause.

Firstly, the large population of China has been taken by Mr. Twiss[14] as a cause for the arrest of scientific development. It has also been shown that the reason why Greeks and Romans did not contribute much to the further development of the machine and mechanical appliéances in

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14. Twiss, G. R., Science and Education in China, Shanghai, 1925.

general lies chiefly in the slave system, which gave a supply of cheap labour. There has never been much slavery in China but one has to admit that the cheap labour supply has to a certain extent diminished that need of mechanical substitutes which operates so prominently with the people of the West. It, however, does not necessarily impede the development of scientific thought. Rather it affords more liesure to scholars for thinking and pondering, and this is one of the benefits due to the slave system in ancient Greece. As regards Chinese population it may seem to be enormously large, but the average population is of only 122 per square mile while that of Belgium is 652, United Kingdom 373, and Germany 310. Population may have been a factor, as already said in the introductory chapter, but not the principal one.

Secondly, the Chinese written language has been considered to be another factor that prevented the Chinese from making headway in philosophic and scientific thought. Both Professor Suzuki[15] and Hackmann[16] stress the fact that the Chinese language may be eminently adapted to certain forms of literature, but not for scientific purposes for which logical accuracy and literary precision are the first requisites. Certainly language is the tool of rea-

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15. Op.cit., p. 11.

16. Chinesische Philosophie, pp. 15-17.

son, and at the same time it is the key to the understanding. Psychological inquiries into the problems of the Chinese language have recently engaged the most serious attention of the Chinese students, but their investigations deal chiefly with the comparison of vertical and horizontal writing,[17] the legibility of the Chinese characters,[18] and the analysis of eye movements,[19] the Gestalt of the Chinese writing,[20] and its bearing on mental process such as recognition and recall.[21] As to whether or not it is really a hindrance to philsophical and scientific writing no conclusive answer has yet been given. According to Mr. Grannet, a reputed French sinologue, who made a careful study of the Chinese language it is by no means unsatisfactory for the expression of thought and feeling, or for scientific purpose.[22] "The employment of

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17. Chen, L. K. and Carr, H. A.: The Ability of Chinese Students to read in vertical and horizontal directions (Exp. Psy., 1926, 9, 110-117); Chao, Y. A., Comparison of vertical writing of the Chinese characters and horizontal writing of the Chinese Characters (Chinese) New Edu., 1925, 10 (n.5) 663-680;

18. Chou, S. K.: Reading and legibility of Chinese Characters, Exp. Psy., April, 1929, 156-177.

19. Miles, W. R., and Shen, E.: Photographic recording of eye movements in the reading of Chinese vertical and horizontal axes: method and preliminary results. Exp. Psy., 1925, 8, 344-362. Shen, E.: An Analysis of eye movements in reading Chinese, Exp. Psy., 1927, 10, 158-183.

20. Chou, S. K.: Gestalt in reading Chinese characters, Psy. Rev., Jan. 1930, 54-71.

21. Wylie, M.: Recognition of Chinese Symbols, Amer. Jour. Psy., 1926, 37, 224-232. Tsai, L. S. and Abernethy, E., The Psychology of Chinese Characters, Exp. Psy., 1928, 11, 430-442.

22. Jour. de Psychologie, Jan. 1929.

ideographs in Chinese script," says Dr. Wilhelm, "so frequently described as wearisome and prejudicial to progress, has thus had a good deal to do with the persistence of Chinese civilization and the balance maintained throughout Chinese history. The steady development of mathematics in Europe, with such remarkable effects on the whole of modern science, may possibly be ascribed to similar causes. Mathematical signs are independent of pronounciation, just as Chinese characters are. It is easy to understand, therefore, why it was precisely Leibnitz the mathematician who saw in Chinese script the best universal medium of sientific thought."[24]

Thirdly, one may ascribe the cause of this backward state to lack of intelligence, to a regression of the intellectual qualities of the Chinese. This is a possibility but available experimental evidence indicates that this has not occured. The most recent tests of the native intelligence of the Chinese seem to show that they are not intellectually inferior. In the year 1915 to 1917 J. W. Creighton[25] under the direction of Pyle made a study of mental and physical characteristics of the Chinese children and the results show that in the

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24. R. Wilhelm: A Short History of Chinese Civilization, p. 156.

25. W. H. Pyle.: A Study of Mental and Physical Characteristics of the Chinese, Sch. and Soc., 1918, 8, 264-269.

~~in the~~ spot pattern test where no language difficulties exist, the Chinese are on an equal footing with the Americans. In the year 1918 Walcott[25] made a comparison of Chinese college students in China and American college students in this country. The Stanford Revision of the Binet scale was used, and 44 out of 63, i. e. 70 percent, were found to have an I.Q. above 100. In 1923, S. D. Lee[26] under the direction of Bridgman of the University of California made a comparative study of 46 Chinese and 46 American school children with ages ranging from 4 to 14 usin g the Goddard Revision of the Binet-Simon scale. Her conclusion is that regardless of language handicap the final scores show the two races to be practically equal in terms of mental age. In the same year K. T. Yeung[27] of Stanford University tested 109 Chinese children ranging from 5 to 14. The Stanford Revision of the Binet scale was again used. With the omission of vocabulary tests, no striking differences were found in the intelligence of the Chinese and American children. In 1924 Y. T. Hao[28] reported a study of 602 Chinese pupils in the Commodore Stockton School

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25. G. D. Walcott.: The Intelligence of Chinese Students, Ibid., 10, 1920, 474-480.

26. S. D. Lee: A Comparative study of Normal Chinese and American Children, Univ. of Calif., Master thesis (unpublished), cited by Hsiao, H. H.: The Mentality of the Chinese and Japanese, Jour. of Appl. Psych., Feb., 1929, pp. 9-32.

27. K. T. Yeung.: Intelligence of the Chinese students in San Francisco and Vicinity, Jour. Appl. Psych., 1921, V, 267-274.

28. Y. T. Hao: The Memory Span of 600 Chinese school children in San Francisco, Sch.& Soc., 1924, 20, 507-510.

in San Francisco and found the Chinese students superior in both visual and auditory memory for digits. Symonds tested 513 Chinese students in Hawaii[29] and found their average I.Q. to be 99.3. In 1926 Graham[30] made an investigation of Chinese children in San Francisco and his results show a decided language disability in the case of the Chinese. But he arrived at the conclusion that there is no more difference between racial intelligence norms than there is between the norms of varying social strata within a given race. Porteus and Babcock[31] in their study of temperament and race also show that the learning capacity of the Chinese is not inferior to that of other races. "Of their children (Chinese and Japanese) in the United States," says Dr. Stratton, "it should be remembered that the parents are largely manual labourers and artisans in the occupations requiring less skill, employments that in our white population attract the less intelligent individuals--- And the Asiatic children in America are under the further disadvantage that in testing them use is often

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29. R. M. Symonds: The Intelligence of the Chinese in Hawaii, Sc. and Soc., 1924, 19, 442.

30. V. T. Graham: The Intelligence of Chinese Children in San Francisco, Jour. Comp. Psych., 1926, 17, 361-367.

31. Temperament and Race, Chap. on Learning and Capacity, and Race, pp. 217-246.

made of a language in which they are not at home, and of ideas which are not always assimilated to their culture. But even in these circumstances the Chinese and Japanese children in California are very little below the average of the Caucasians and are well within the limits of what is deemed normal for their age."[32]

Intelligence is, of course, one of the most important factors in human progress. But progress depends not so much on the average intelligence as on the exceptional ability of a few who may act as leaders or a good number of "A" grade men.[33] In the above tests the native intelligence of the Chinese is shown only within the normal limit, while in some cases they are decidedly below the average. Moreover, at least 86% of the population is illiterate. If we attempt to construct a curve of the distribution of intelligence in China, we can imagine what it would be. The gravest problem that confronted China during the past century therefore, has been the difficulty in the emergence of men of exceptional ability. Not only is native intelligence necessary but also adequate

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32. G. M. Stratton: Social Psychology of International Conduct, p. 18.

33. "In the rating used in reporting the results of this testing, A men are of the grade which 'has the ability to make a superior record in college'; B men are 'capable of making an average record in college'; C men are 'rarely capable of finishing a high-school course.'" Quoted from W. McDougall: National Welfare and National Decay, p. 164-165.

physical environment and a social situation favourable to the fullest development of native capacity of man. Now the reason for the stagnation of Chinese is apparent. It is the interplay between the Chinese culture and the Chinese mind that constitutes the most formidable barrier for progress. It is a result of numerous factors rather than any one single cause. These factors are responsible both for the stabilization and stagnation of the Chinese culture. They are effective in preserving certain moral traits of the Chinese as well as in impeding the normal growth of the mind. These stabilizing agencies have been stated throughout the discussion in the previous chapters, but it remains to summarize the general results of the enquiry.

In the first place as a result of the interplay of instinctive, temperamental, and environmental factors the Chinese have evolved a culture which has taken the humanistic form. Strictly speaking the Chinese are not very speculative. Their interests always center in human relations, or rather in practical ethics, "However subtle in their reasoning, and however bold in their imagination, they never lose sight of the practical and moral aspect of things."[34] Sceptical, speculative and enquiring spirits

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34. D. T. Suzuki; History of Chinese Philosophy, pp. 6-7.

were not encouraged. Says Confucius, "How do we know death when life is not yet understood?" Again: "Do not trouble with things supernatural, physical prowess, monstrosities, and spiritual beings." Such a practical bent of mind together their strong social and protective impulses demanded a culture which is stable, harmonious, and enduring rather than plastic, changeable and progressive. Thus the predominance of the social and protective impulses over the impulses of combat and wonder is responsible for the lack of religious fanaticism on the one hand and of scientific curiosity on the other.

In the second place there developed also the humanitarian spirit, which is a strong preserving and unifying agency. Very early they discovered that their lives were akin to those of animals and plants. They abhored anatomical enquiries into the brute animals and prevented the dissection of human bodies. Much of Greek culture is similar to Chinese, but on this point China is different from Ancient Greece. The work of Aristotle in comparative anatomy, or that of the Alexandrian shool, did not engage their attention. Generation after generation all the prejudices of ignorance and superstition, added to humanitarianism, formed a great hindrance to the development of science. The reason for the refusal to introduce modern machinery and industry was often based on the humanitarian appeal. It aroused effectively the impulses of protection.

And these when joined with combative tendencies may become blind but powerful in persecuting the cause of human progress. Even in the West the application of science has been subject to considerable difficulty from similar agencies. Only after it had been to some extent freed from custom, tradition and religious prejudice did science rise gradually to the plane of impersonal, critically established knowledge of every phase of nature and of man.

In the third place it has been pointed out that the predominance of the social and parental instincts produced family solidarity on which the whole fabric of the Chinese culture is built. "It has many points of strength;" as Dr. Latourett says, "it furnishes a motive for and makes possible the preservation of excellent moral standards and restraints and is an aid to government. China's high ethical system and her persistent adherence to it during the centuries, in theory and in practice, have to no small degree been the result of her emphasis on the family."[35] On the other hand the retarding influence exerted on the mind of the Chinese was no less significant. It hindered initiative, suppressed genius and prevented the dissemination of new knowledge. It has been exceedingly hard for the individual to break away from the dead hand of the past, and he has always been discouraged when he

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35. Latourette, K. S.: The Development of China, 133.

attempted to depart from the ways of his ancestors. Contrast this with the Western family in which every member is independent and free. We have emphasized the point that progress depends more on a few original or exceptional minds than on average intelligence. What chance is there for genius to rise when all the pressure of the traditional moral code and of the family group has tended to subordinate the will of one to the will of all? Moreover, the mechanical and other discoveries of the most original minds among them were often kept in and transmitted by the family, and when not in constant requisition by later generations they were misunderstood or forgotten. Any account on Chinese culture must take family into consideration. Indeed it is a most important factor in the stabilization and stagnation of Chinese culture.

In the fourth place as soon as Chinese culture reached a comparatively high level the demand for stabilizing agencies became more and more urgent in order that harmony might exist between the individual and the family, and between families in the group. The doctrine of the Mean preached by Confucius seemed to serve this purpose, and it also agreed with the moderate temperament of the Chinese. The whole tendency of the culture, then, was going toward stabilization rather than progress. The goal of the Chinese culture was to develop the "superior man" who may live in accordance with the principle of the Mean.

Moderation, compromise and contentment in life are the virtues. Geniuses, who often disturb the equilibrium of the society, were not allowed to rise. Chinese culture set the limits to the ways in which men might gratify their desires and impulses without going to the extreme. This moderating power has borne remarkable results by giving to the Chinese culture the stability, the duration, and the harmonious relation between the members of the group, which have protected it from all ~~the~~ disruptive influences generation after generation.

But moderation, compromise and contentment in life provide no incentive for progress, and in fact they do away with all the necessity of inventions and discoveries. In a way inventions and discoveries came from man's impulse of adventure in the exploration of nature, from the unsatiable urge of curiosity and from the desire to acquire wealth, to seek leisure and luxury. The progress of the Western civilization lies chiefly in its adventurous spirit or reckless urge to go to the extreme, to exploit the economic potentialities of the earth, to spread far and wide material well-being, to imprison the forces of nature, and to develop man's capacity for domination; it is based on the rivalries of individuals and of races, on the glory of combat, on the joy of victory; it is compounded of speed and daring and pride and unappeasable desire, of eager activity and restless striving.

The repressive bonds of the Chinese culture and the moderation of the Chinese temperament make their life seem unemotional and impassive. As Mr. Denison says, there was not enough religious feeling in Chinese culture and it seems to have lacked emotional dynamics. A comparison between China and Japan will help bring out the point. The racial characteristics of the two peoples are in many ways similar, and in fact all the fundamental cultural elements of the Japanese were borrowed from the Chinese. Yet Japan has made a rapid stride of progress within a short period of time, while China still lags behind in the march of the history of the world. The fundamental reason, it seems to me, is the strong emotional power of the Japanese, impulsive, resolute and aggressive. Both have accepted Confucius' code of honor. It remains a code of the gentleman in China, but it became "Bushido" or the "way of the warrior" in Japan. The Samurai, devoted Japanese followers of Confucius, never appears in public without his two swords, a keen long blade for killing his enemy and a short dirk to use on himself in case of failure. To take away his sword is an insult. He cannot restore it to his scabbard without first steeping it in blood and he fights to the last before committing suicide. On the other hand, in China, the sword has long been put up, and the Chinese may kill himself after an insult without attempting revenge. For the Japanese the emotional energy must

be discharged, while for the Chinese it must be controlled, and finally it turns upon the man himself. As a consequence the soldier became the first man in Japan while he is the lowest in China. In the face of the imminent danger of national humiliation Japan was able to repel foreign agression and make progress in almost every phase of life. Japan has to-day ninety institutions of scientific and technological research and thirty thousand engineers enrolled in the membership of her national engineering societies. Progress depends to a great extent upon human temperament, and the impulse of pugnacity, of self-assertion, of curiosity and strong emotional power carry it forward.

In the fifth place the homogeneity of the Chinese mind, resulting from the general acceptance of Confucius' teaching as the one national philosophy in political affairs as well as in individual conduct, prevented the rapid progress of thought and new ideas. For centuries Chinese culture was identified with Confucius and Confucius with the Chinese. All intellectual energy and scholarship were concentrated in the study of classics. No doctrines were encouraged to develop that did not help to elucidate Confucius in a better light or in a more popular form. Thus it affected greatly the uniformity of Chinese culture. An individual who is born in the midst of that culture has hardly had a chance to stand out sufficiently and in-

dependently above that monotonous mode of living and thinking. It has been pointed out that the Ante-Chin period yielded the richest harvest of original thought in the whole history of the Chinese civilization when there was nothing in the past that would distract it from fully expressing itself. At that time the Chinese mind plunged itself unreservedly into a bold speculation on life and universe; Confucianism was found still struggling for its existence; Taoism was not yet recognized as a distinct system. Enjoying the utmost freedom of speech, and unhampered by the tyranny of tradition and learning, every man who had intelligence enough to be original ventured his own opinion, and could find a hearing. But after that period when Confucianism was firmly established the only originality lay in interpretations of the old system in a new way.

In the sixth place the lack of intimate contact with other advanced cultures bred in the Chinese a feeling of pride and contempt which prevented the early assimilation of western science and industrial methods. Outside races had derived from the Middle Kingdom what culture she possessed while they gave practically nothing in return. Besides Buddhism, the few trades of Central Asian or Greek influences are insignificant and almost negligible. Thus they had known no other people with a civilization equal to their own. The progress of science in the West

has been due to a great extent to intimate contact between different cultural groups and the constant impetus received from the outside. In China this stimulus has until recently been almost entirely lacking. A nation hemmed in by geographical boundaries or clinging too tenaciously to traditions must be seriously hampered in intellectual and material progress.

In the seventh place, the old traditions and customs provided a symbolic nucleus around which Chinese emotions and sentiments weave. We cherish those things which are made by ourselves or by our ancestors, and with the passing of the years we develop a strong sentiment for them. We identify ourselves with them and hate to part with them. These sentiments develop into self-satisfaction and ultra-conservatism. Porteus quotes the report of the immigration board of Hawaii in 1890 about the Chinese: "He looks upon foreign methods, appliances, and investigations with scorn as inferior to his own. He does not want to and will not adapt himself to the country where he goes but is and feels himself an alien temporarily banished from his beloved China to which he sends all his earnings and whither he follows as soon as he has acquired property enough to make him independent."[37] A people with a little or no history of the past or whose culture was

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37. S. D. Porteus and M. E. Babcock, Temperament and Race, p. 38.

borrowed from others will adopt new and better cultural elements more readily than those whose minds are obsessed by the creation of their own race. Compare Chinese with the Filipinos and the Japanese. There is no difficulty for the Filipinos to adopt Spanish or American culture, and the same is true with the Japanese who can easily discard the old for the new and better culture since their old culture is not their own. But the Chinese with forty centuries of tradition and custom which were entirely developed by the Chinese themselves are satisfied with them and dislike to have them changed. They are zealous for the integrity of the national culture and apt to assume a hostile attitude towards any influence that may endanger its purity and harmony. Such sentiments as these readily develop into a complex which constitutes a stumbling-block to change and progress.

In the eighth place the Chinese literary education must be taken as one of strong factors for both the stagnation and stabilization of Chinese culture. "It was one of the most distinctive features of Chinese civilization and constituted a system unmatched by any other nation in the world." The product of this system of education is a group of public officials and a class of "literati." The literati in China correspond to the Samurai of Japan. It must be admitted that to this class belong some of the most remarkable men that China has ever produced. The best

examples of this class of humanity belong to the Tang dynasty. The "Tangs", as Dr. Stafford Cox has said, were farmers in the morning, warriors at noon, and poets and painters in the evening.[38] During the 18th century inspired by the spirit of the Chinese literati the Jesuit Fathers who came out to China to convert the Chinese became themselves the means of carrying to Europe the ideas of Chinese civilization. The Sorbonne and the headquarters of Catholic theology became the center of the enthusiasm for China and in the sphere of political philosophy and ethics China was the center of discussion.

But the literati, who were the leading class of the Chinese, were strongly prejudiced by their knowledge of literature, history and classics and objected most violently to the introduction of machinery or the idea of progress. For instance, in 1875, when the first railroad was built from Shanghai to Woosung, the Chinese literati were so shocked that they caused it to be destroyed. It would be an interesting study for psychologists to investigate the influence of literary training on the thought and feeling of the individual. The same aversion to machinery and modern life may be found among some leading Western literati, such as Ruskin, Carlyle, Mathew Arnold and others. Mathew Arnold for instance says:

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38. Quoted by E. S. Lester in Arts and Art Craft of Ancient China, p. 21.

---this strange disease of modern life
With its sick hurry, its divided aims,
Its head o'ertaxed, its palsied hearts.

A more recent example is the following description of Western civilization by the English philosopher, Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson through the mouth of a Chinese scholar. He says: "By your works you may be known. Your triumphs in the mechanical arts are the obverse of your failure in all that calls for spiritual insight. Machines of every kind you can make and use to perfection; but you cannot build a house, or write a poem, or paint a picture; still less can you worship or aspire. Ratiocination has taken the place of perfection; and your whole life is an infinite syllogism from premises you have not examined to conclusions you have not anticipated or willed. Everywhere means, nowhere ends. Society is a huge engine and that engine itself is out of gear. Such is the picture your civilization presents to my imagination."[39]

The aversion of Chinese literati to the machine, to science, and the western method of warfare has put China back more than a generation behind the time. The success of Japanese transformation is chiefly due to the sudden change of the attitude of Daimyos who heroically surrendered their powers to the central government, adopted readily western ideas and methods, sent students to study

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39. Letters of John Chinaman, pp. 25-26.

in Europe and encouraged progress of all kinds. It is still this class that forms the pillars of the Japanese nation and whose vision it is that has made the red disc in the center of their national flag, "the emblem of the rising sun, symbolical of the awakening of Japan, and of her wish to be found ever moving onward and upward amid the enlightened nations of the world." What would China have been had the literati, the leading class of China at that time, awakened from her literary slumber, and became the champion of science and progress!

Moreover, like the Greeks of the age of Pericles the Chinese literati came to despise everything that was not connected with "pure thought". A Chinese scholar devoted himself to the pursuit of the study of classics--- everything done by the "hand" was left to the menial mercies of the working class. Mechanical arts have never attracted the best minds of the country. Most inventions and discoveries were indidental and never encouraged.

The literary examination system, the most unique feature of the Chinese education, functioned most effectively in drawing the leading mind away from science and mechanical arts. The merits of such system must not be denied.[49]

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49. Carlyle says: "By far the most interesting fact I hear about the Chinese is one which we cannot arrive at clearness, but which excites endless curiosity even in the dim state: namely, that they do attempt to make their Men of Letters their Governors! ---All such things must be very <u>unsuccessful</u>; yet a small degree of success is precious; the

It furnished the sole gateway for the attainment of social prestige and distinction; it occupied a central position in Chinese society; it dominated all the political life; it controlled the entire educational program of the nation. It was very effective in preserving the unity of Chinese culture, for it provided a common ambition and focus of attention to the leaders of Chinese society. "It was characterized as a social institution by its extremely democratic nature, its competitive and highly selective operation, its absolute prohibition of the slightest variation or initiative, and its preservation of the traditions of the literati and of orthodox Confucianism."[40]

But the system had also certain very unfortunate influences. Every Chinese parent cherished only one high ideal for the young---to pass the highest literary examinations and to become an official. Even if this fails, to belong to the literati class is no less desirable. "No Olympic victor in the days of ancient Greece was ever more honored than the victor in the final examinations in Peking. Great processions met the returning hero. All the honors society could give were his, with official banquets and

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very attempt how precious!---" On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History, pp. 194-195.

40. Amer. Jour. of Sociol., Sept., 1929, p. 254.

great honors."[41] Contrast this with the great honor and encouragement given by the West to the inventors, North-Pole discoverers, and the trans-Atlantic flyers. The success of the invention and discovery, the benefit that derived from their application in every day life, the support and the interest of the entire nation have attracted the best minds of the West to ponder, to enquire, to search for the truth of the universe even at the hazard of their lives; while the aspirations of the entire Chinese nation were bound up in the literary examination. As the examinations were based on the Confucian classics, there was not the slightest incentive to investigate any other fields of knowledge.

In the fourteenth century the new type of public examination, into which the "Eight-legged Essay"---corresonding to the German Chrie---was introduced. The theme was always chosen from the Classics. "The writer could not express any opinion of his own. All he was required to do was to put the few words of Confucius, or whomsoever it might be, into an essay in conformity with the prescribed rules. ---No system was more perfect or effective in retarding the intellectual and scientific development of a nation."[42] Thus the variation and experimentation which

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41. Ibid., p. 252.

42. Li Ung Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 233.

are essential factors for progress were rendered totally impossible by the iron-clad crushing standards of the examination system. By this system unity and loyalty to accepted cultural standards were secured, but progress and growth were stifled.

All the factors mentioned above do not seem to be in favour of mechanical and scientific development in China and yet they are very effective in preserving the moral traits of the Chinese. It is in the moral tradition that we find the root of the Chinese culture. It is also this aspect of the Chinese culture that seems to have appealed to some of the best minds of the West. Christian Wolff in the celebrated address "De Sinarum Philosophia Practica"[43] which caused his banishment from Halle University attempted to show that the ancient wisdom of China conflicts in no way with Christian morality. Voltaire, the most brilliant protagonist of "l'espirit chinois", believed that the lofty morality of the ancient Chinese sages had found an echo in the responsible classes of the population, and had been realized in the ordering of the state. Liebniz,[44] Quesnay,[45] Helvetius[46] and others ex-

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43. English Edition, London, 1750.

44. Leibniz in the preface to his "Novissima Sinica" (1697) states that the West certainly surpasses China in the theoretic sciences like mathematics and astronomy, but China is undoubtedly superior in the matter of practical philosophy and in political morality. He worked hard for the foundation of the Berlin Academy of Science in order to

TABLE II

Measures of Moral Traits. Percentage of Each Race Group which Overlaps the Anglo-Saxon Medium. (Copied from page 661 of School and Society.)

Country Japanese	Hawaiian	Chinese-Hawaiian	Korean	Portuguese	Japanese	Chinese	Anglo-Saxon-Hawaiian	Anglo-Saxon			
90	69	80	47	43	999	87	70	50	r .97	"Honesty" Test.	
39	20	24	68	23	50	90	32	50	r .31	School Mark.	
37	58	65	58	47	66	79	55	50	r .92	Chassel-Upton Citizenship Scale.	Self-Trustworthiness. Perseverance. Ambition.
38	29	18	46	16	62	70	9	50	r .31	Teachers' Estimates.	
	.1	23	17	15	94	34	3	50	r .96	Questionnaire.	
50	47	42	48	28	50	63	25	50	r .31	Teachers' Estimates.	Sensitiveness to Public Opinion.
	.4	37	40	17	92	93	33	50	r .98	Questionnaire.	
50	47	42	48	28	50	63	25	50	r .31	Teachers' Estimates.	Self-assertion.
	18	66	56	2	25	78	27	50	r .99	Questionnaire.	
17	14	45	26	48	27	29	38	50	r .31	Teachers' Estimate.	
	.1	1	.4	11	20	.3	2	50	r .89	Questionnaire.	
37	24	56	97	31	71	68	22	50	r .58	Teachers' Estimate.	Control of emotions.
	52	38	52	15	87	69	38	50	r .165	Questionnaire.	
40	35	26	38	33	996	65	26	50	r .31	Teachers' Estimates.	
		3	63	4	78	97	7	50	r .97	Questionnaire.	
		317	5306	2397	6917	7517	3228	50		Weighted Average.	

pressed the same opinion.

The recent study by Murdoch[47] of differences between races in Honolulu in intellect and in morality shows high moral traits of the Chinese. The tests consist of such traits as ambition, perseverance, trust-worthiness, self-assertion, sensitiveness to public opinion, honesty, control of emotions, etc. She says "As the table stands, the oriental races, especially the Chinese clearly stand high in almost all these measures. ---The Chinese stand in the most enviable position of all. Out of the fifteen traits the Chinese stand highest in eight, including the school mark and citizenship scale, two of the least subjective of our measures."

There is one significant point to be noted. In the table one may see that the Chinese is especially poor in the trait of self-assertion. In this trait, Anglo-Saxons clearly stand supreme! They have no rival within hailing distance, the Japanese being nearest with the group overlapping of only 20 per cent. Does this not bear out clearly the evidence of the selective process of the

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have an active instrument for "opening up China, the interchange of civilization of that immense country to Christianity." (Franz R. Merkel.: Leibniz und die China Mission, Leipzig, 1920).

45. Le Despotisme de la Chine.

46. De l'espirit.

47. K. Murdoch.: A Study of Differences Found between Races in Intellect and In Morality, Sch. and Soc., Nov., 1925. 628, 659.

stabilizing agencies of the Chinese culture? They preserve all mild and gentle traits as trustworthiness, perseverance, sensitiveness to public opinion and other mild qualities. It shows the effective mollifying influence of the Chinese culture. It shows also that these inherited traits have found expression in Chinese culture. But without self-assertion all these traits become passive virtues. Self-assertion implies ambition, courage, and determination, which are of great importance in the progressive adaptability to national problems; for without these, racial progress stands still and culture becomes arrested.

On the other hand the mollifying influence of the Chinese culture and the mild temperament of the race, together with the strong social and protective impulses and moral sentiments have made the Chinese the most pacific people in the world. They have survived many invasions, and "absorbed the very Tartars whose one long-ranged raid inflicted a mortal wound on the Roman Empire." Porteus shows that Chinese children were superior to the Japanese in mental alertness but inferior in temperamental strength. Perhaps a happy balance may be secured by mixing these two closely allied stocks. The excellent record of the inheritance of these traits, according to Porteus and Babcock, is shown particularly in the case of the Chinese-Hawaiians. "The Chinese may supply the learning capacity and the Hawaiians the resolution and the emotional placidity which

together make an excellent blend in character. ---The former are more industrious, submissive and have better scholastic abilities; the latter have more initiative and independence."[48] This clearly shows that the Chinese lack a certain temperamental strength which is perhaps due to the four-thousand-year's influence of the Chinese culture.

Chinese perseverance and trustworthiness are certainly preserved by family and ancestor worship, which are the expression of the social and parental impulses. Control of emotions and sensitiveness to public opinion are the result of such influence as that of rules of propriety, especially upon the sentiment of self-regard. To these and other inherited national traits must be given a large share of the credit both for the preservation of the homogeneity and stability of Chinese civilization and also for the stagnation of that culture. But the moderate temperament and an inherent tendency to avoid extremes must be considered as a most significant factor responsible for the weakness of self-assertion on the one hand and the successful compromise with life on the other. In fact all the national traits and cultural elements tend to converge on this point---moderation. Cicero said: "To live long, it is necessary to live slowly." The continuity of Chinese culture and traditions is unsurpassed by any in the world.

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48. Op.cit., p. 297.

On the other hand conservativeness and the slow progress of the Chinese culture is perhaps also unsurpassed.

Progress is a very modern ideal, even with the West. Progress is not a mere change, but it is change for the better. This betterness can be measured only in terms of human happiness. If what we call progress is only restless change it will bring us no nearer to any desirable goal. The rapid attainment of the climax of a civilization does not assure the maintenance of a harmonious and endurable existence. Thus we see the collapse of the civilizations of Babylonia and Rome. Confucius says: "When things have been carried to extreme, calamity ensues." Certainly the weakness and stagnation of the Chinese culture is a warning to human race, but the unity and continuity of ~~the~~ Chinese culture may have certain helpful suggestions to the people immersed in the hurry and haste of modern life. Thus the bringing together of the two civilizations the Chinese and the Western, may produce a helpful result to both, mutually correcting each other, for life represents a system of checks and counterchecks.

The contact of the cultures of East and West in China has produced the inevitable effect. The process of disintegration of the old and the assimilation of the new is taking place. There may emerge a new type of Chinese culture. But such a culture will not be brought about by random changes on the surface and the mechanical fusion of

unessentials without attempting something deeper and constructive. It can only be achieved by a systematic, well-thought-out and thorough-going synthesis. It should be a process of an organic growth from their own tradition, a process that will combine all that was best in traditional China with the finest moral and intellectual elements of the West.

As already shown the cultivation of character constitutes the goal of the Chinese culture, and it should remain as the same highest goal. The hope for the future of the modern civilization, as Dr. McDougall tells us, lies in the increasing knowledge of human nature and of human society.[50] During the past three thousand years the Chinese have been groping in the dark for an understanding of human nature and of society. Such knowledge has become a new factor in history, guiding and shaping all the activities of the Western life. China saw early the importance of this knowledge and she should now show her unreserved acceptance of the best scientific method that the West can offer, and apply it to her study, so that something may be achieved in the future worthy of her history and contribution to the progress of mankind. To know our-

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50. National Welfare and National Decay, pp. 174-175.

selves, our weaknesses, our limitations, and our virtues, and to control ourselves with that knowledge is the hope of the human race.

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